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Giovanni Bellini: Madonna
Collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis

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VENETIAN PAINTING IN AMERICA

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BY

BERNARD BERENSON

LONDON
G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.
1916

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PREFACE

"Now that we are on the subject of Venetian Painting," that would be a more exact title for this book. For, in fact, I have made the stray pictures in our collections the pretext for saying what I wanted to say about their authors in general.

In some ways this form suits me as it suited my master, Giovanni Morelli. Like him, I have a distaste for including in my own writing questions that do not vividly interest me at the moment, no matter how important in themselves; and like him, I prefer to avoid such systematic treatment as entails dealing with materials either at second hand, or out of dimmed and attenuated recollection. It goes against the grain to write about anything that does not fascinate and absorb me.

For the last few years it has been the painters of Venice, and Giovanni Bellini in particular, that have preoccupied my leisure and occupied my working hours. I thought of making a book about him, and I may still do it. But should I fail to achieve this purpose the student will be able to gather from this book, supplemented by certain essays in my third series of "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," most of what I have to contribute to the subject. He will see what

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works I would ascribe to the great artist, in what chronological order I would arrange them, how I would reconstruct the whole of the master's career, and how I would relate him to his contemporaries.

These contemporaries as well are treated in this volume nearly as exhaustively as suits my own researches and reflections. I have however to some extent been guided by the abundance or the scarcity of the materials, and am happy that these permitted me to say so much about Montagna, so much more still about Cima, and as much as I have said about Basaiti and Catana.

Of the minor painters, and of such momentarily over-appreciated ones as Lazzaro Sebastiani or Jacopo di Barbari I have spoken only when works of theirs in America demanded it. Most of them, however, are represented.

I venture therefore to trust that this book will not be mistaken for a sort of catalogue of Venetian pictures in America. It is intended to be much more than that.

I hope to follow it with another volume on the Sixteenth Century Venetians.

My thanks are due to private owners and to public institutions for photographs and the permission to reproduce them.*

B. B.

Settignano, July, 1916.

* Reproductions of nearly all the pictures referred to in this book will be found in a work that should be in every student's hand: A. Venturi's "Storia dell' Arte Italiana," Vol. VII, part IV.

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VENETIAN PAINTING IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSITION

NO history of Venice yet written—not even Mr. Horatio Brown's evocative and illuminating study—conveys half so vividly as does a glance at Venetian painting, the sense of how isolated, during the fourteenth century, was the Republic of the Lagoons from the remainder of Italy. Thus, Giotto labored for years in Padua, the nearest town on the mainland, and his activity there quickly altered the typography, so to speak, as well as the technique of the painter's art throughout the whole of Northern Italy. In Venice alone it took decades before a clear trace of his influence began to appear. And this, when it came, was almost entirely confined to such general elements as shape and composition, while the substance, the craft, the technique, remained imperturbably Byzantine. The green under-painting, the profuse gilding, the effects of lacquer or enamel, suffered no change worth mentioning before the revolution started by Gentile da Fabri-

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ano and Pisanello, continued by their pupil and follower, Jacopo Bellini, and achieved by his sons, Gentile and Giovanni. This revolution, we may note in passing, followed the conquest of Padua in 1405 and the initiation of that continental policy which rapidly turned Venice into a great Italian power. Even then, the Vivarini and their spiritual kin retained a great deal of Byzantinism in their art, and the last of them, Alvise, betrays its continued hold upon him not only in the hard polished surface of his work, but in his failure to assimilate the new composition and even the new lighting.

These paintings of the fourteenth century and those of the fifteenth which were least affected by the Bellinesque innovation, will form the subject of the following chapter.

I

CATERINO AND OTHERS

We begin with the signed work of Caterino in the collection of Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore (Fig. 1), which has been reproduced and minutely described by Prof. Laudedeo Testi in the first volume of his very compendious and most learned "Storia della Pittura Veneziana" (p. 244). Its reproduction dispenses us from a minute description. The same authority (ibid., p. 237) tells us that Caterino was known to be active between 1362 and 1382. He was, in fact, one of the prominent painters in the Venice of that time. A glance at Mr. Walters' Polyptych will suffice to inform us that painting in Venice during the decades just men-

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Fig. 1. CATERINO: TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 2. VENETIAN SCHOOL (*c.* 1400): TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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tioned was still playing the same subordinated and modest rôle that it seems to have taken in the Mediæval Greek world. The general effect of type and color and surface is overwhelmingly Byzantine, and the technique almost wholly so. The Madonna manifests signs of Giottesque influence, coming, however, not directly from Giotto himself at the neighboring Padua, but indirectly through his Romagnol followers at Rimini and its coasts. The few miles of land travel proved so efficient a barrier, before the conquest of Padua and the consequent closer communications, that all the Italianism recognizable in Venice till after 1400 came thither by the sea. As the Madonna in this picture is so much more Italian than any other of Caterino's known works, we may safely regard it as the latest we possess.

Venetian paintings dating from before the Renaissance are so rare that we must not disdain a small Triptych (Fig. 2) in the same collection of Mr. Walters at Baltimore, mediocre enough intrinsically, but with some of the attractiveness of old icons, and not devoid of interest. In the central panel we see Our Lady seated on a flowered hillock, with the Child eagerly clinging to her. Above is the Crucifixion. In the right panel we have the Virgin Annunciate over St. James, in his turn over St. Margaret; and in the left, the Angel of the Annunciation over the Baptist and St. Catherine. The ground, of course, is gold; the enamel-like technique is still Byzantine. The florid pinnacles, combined with a return to round arches, enable us at once to date this modest achievement as of

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about 1400. Who its author may have been, I have no idea, except that he undoubtedly was a Venetian. The Angel Gabriel recalls both of Lorenzo Veneziano's angels in the Venice Academy (Nos. 9 and 10). The Madonna, on the other hand, is distinctly of Bologna-Marchigian origin, seated as she is on a hillock with rays emanating from her and stars all about her—a motive recurring in the dazzling decorative panels of Andrea da Bologna and Francescuccio Ghisi at Pausula, Fermo and Ascoli. I suspect, by the way, that this motive of the Madonna sitting low, destined to become almost universal toward 1400, was invented in Bologna decades earlier. Our painter would seem to have had direct contact with the source, for had he got it from such a model as Giovanni da Bologna's panel now in the Venice Academy (No 17), he would have omitted the stars.

Passing over a rougher work more in the manner of that embogged Byzantinist, Semitecolo, a Madonna belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J., we come to the only other Venetian painting of fourteenth century character that I can remember having seen in America. It is an oblong panel in the gallery of the New York Historical Society, which, many years ago, when I last saw it, had the number 183, and was ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi. Evidently a *predella,* it represented the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin fainting into the arms of one of the six women surrounding her, and on the other side the soldiers dividing Our Lord's garment. At the time, the shapes, the arrangement, the color and the technique all struck me

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as Venetian, although under more than ordinary Italian influence. I have no photograph, and the reproduction in the Artaud de Montor Catalogue (Plate 28) is of that smoothed-out, rounded, blurred character which made connoisseurship, until quite recently, so vague and indecisive.

II

GIOVANNI AND ANTONIO DA MURANO

The most interesting painter of the transition from the Greek Mediæval style to that of the Italian Renaissance is not represented anywhere in America. This was Jacobello del Fiore, who, in his sumptuous "Justice" of the Venice Academy, in his mighty "Lion" of the Doges' Palace, and in a "Madonna" in my own collection, advances upon his age to a largeness of planes and a succulence of treatment curiously like Palma's. The haphazard of saleroom, or of journalism, has caused him to be overshadowed by a painter far less gifted as an artist, and much less interesting as an historical figure; for Michele Giambono was little more than a docile imitator of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, and he is usually toothless, limp and woolly. His technique, based doubtless on Byzantine practice, retains, as does his color, something of the gorgeousness of the East. But as this necessarily disappears in black and white, we shall not reproduce the only fragment of his I have found in America, the half length of a "Sainted Bishop" belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston.[1]

[1] The "Dead Christ" in the Metropolitan Museum, as well as its variant at

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By this time Continental influence was streaming in and softening the crust of traditional craftsmanship that lay hardened in the studios of Murano. Thither came Giovanni d'Alemagna, an adept of the Franco-Flemish School, hailing from its last great outpost, Cologne, and made an alliance with Antonio Vivarini. The pictorial practice which resulted from their partnership was destined to oppose the innovations of Bellini with a resistance rather of inertia than of principle; and it survived long enough to addle in its shell the gift of the last man of talent it affected, Lorenzo Lotto.

It is not easy to distinguish between Giovanni and Antonio, and to allot to each his share of a given undertaking, and harder still to put into words the shade of difference we may end by perceiving. On the whole, the more sentimental and smoother faces, the softer modelling, the flatter colors, are Giovanni's, while the harder heads, drier effects and more serious attempt at drawing, are Antonio's. Antonio, however, survived his partner for many years, and his paintings gradually took on more of the character described. But as he instantly called to his aid his younger brother, Bartolommeo (of which fact we are informed by the signa-

Mr. Horace Morison's in Boston, are not by Giambono, but quite certainly by a contemporary painter from the Marches, probably from Ancona itself. He is a firmer draughtsman, better painter and more magnificent colorist than the fluffy Venetian. The Metropolitan Museum version has been a bone of contention between Prof. Laudedeo Testi and Prof. L. Venturi (*Rassegna d'Arte*, June, 1911; February, 1913). Prof. Venturi is wrong in calling it a forgery, and Prof. Testi in believing it a Giambono, and in regarding the Padua version as a copy after this panel, when, as a matter of fact, it is an independent original by Giambono. I note that in the heat of controversy Prof. Testi goes so far as to distort the name of Bryson Burroughs into Brepon Burroaglio!

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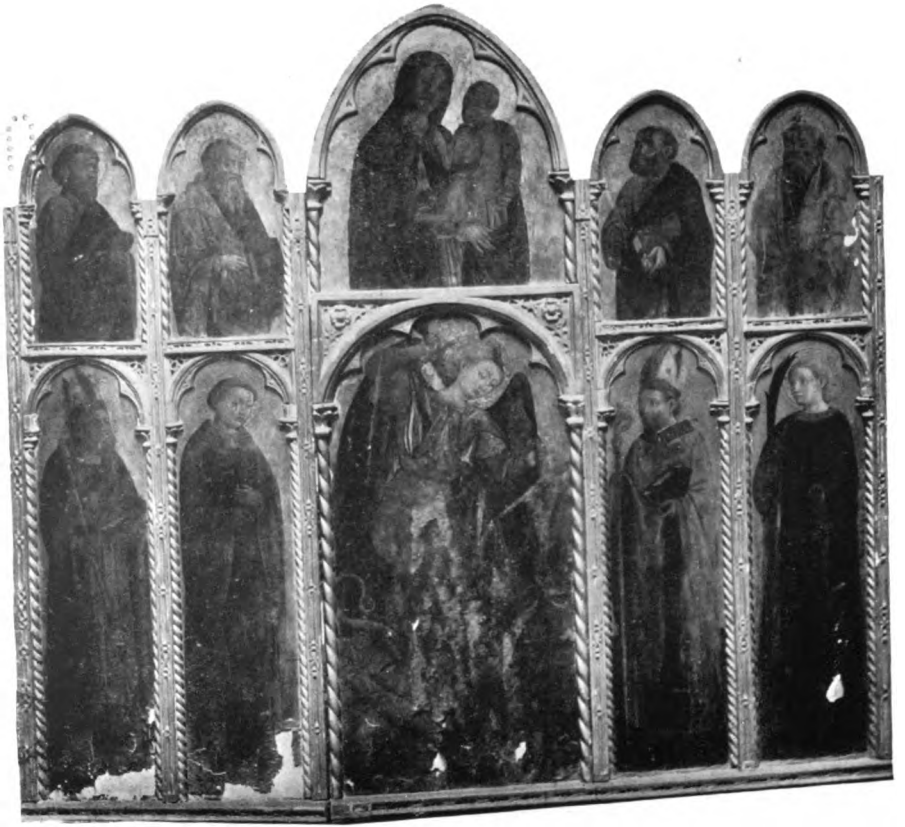

Fig. 3. GIOVANNI D'ALEMAGNA AND ANTONIO VIVARINI: POLYPTYCH.
Collection of Mrs. Dr. Henry Barton Jacobs, Baltimore.

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ture of the Bolognese Polyptych dated 1450, the very year of Giovanni's death), we must still remain on the look-out. Happily, confusion between the two brothers is easier to avoid, for we have ample means of knowing Bartolommeo's independent manner; and besides, this partnership does not seem to have lasted more than ten years.

An important work executed probably by Giovanni and Antonio together may be seen in the collection of Mrs. Dr. Jacobs at Baltimore (Fig. 3). It is a Polyptych in ten parts, on gold ground throughout. The central composition represents St. Michael in the act of striking down the Dragon. On each side are two Saints in full length. Above the Michael we see the Madonna and Child, and on each side two further Saints, all these figures (excepting naturally the Child) being little more than half length. It must have been, when in better condition, a gracious and sumptuous as well as a typical creation of the first Vivarini. Michael has much of the personal beauty and decorative value of contemporary Catalan painting, and I should be inclined to regard it as more especially Giovanni's work. And so, possibly, may be the figure with the palm. All the others are more probably Antonio's. A comparison with the Polyptych at Parenzo (in Istria) dated 1440, and with the "Coronation" at S. Pantaleone in Venice dated 1444, inclines one to assign Mrs. Jacobs' work to the same period.

In the Walters collection, also at Baltimore, there are two panels attributed to our earliest Muranese. The "Madonna" is undoubtedly an independent work

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of Antonio's. She sits on a flowered hillock, against a gold ground, worshipping the Child lying in her lap. The influence here is that of Gentile da Fabriano, and the quality of the picture is not unworthy of that inspiration. The action of the Child is rather better than in Gentile, but both the drawing and the color are less delicate. The other panel shows "St. Jerome" standing in his cardinal's robes against a patterned background. In one hand he holds a book, in the other a church with a round bell-tower. It is a variant of a figure relatively frequent in the paintings of the Vivarini, typical instances occurring in the S. Pantaleone "Coronation," in the great Venice Academy Triptych and in the S. Zaccaria Polyptych. It is to the St. Jerome in the last that Mr. Walters' figure comes nearest; but his panel is of a color at once more saturated and softer than I am acquainted with in the works of Giovanni and Antonio da Murano. I have, therefore, a certain hesitation in ascribing this impressive and attractive panel to either painter. If it be by one of them, that one is Giovanni.

To a later phase of Antonio's career belongs a full length "St. Bernardino" in the possession of Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia. Mere mention will suffice, as I have said what I have to say about it in my Catalogue of the Italian Masters in that Collection.

Finally, there is a "Dead Christ" belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J. He is seen against the Cross, naked from the waist up, rising out of the tomb, with His side and hands pierced. There is quiet feeling here and depth. We may ascribe it, despite

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obvious faults, to Antonio in his latest years, when he painted the same subject at Osimo and at Bari. On the other hand, I feel somewhat timid about accepting as Antonio's the four panels published by Mr. F. M. Perkins in the *Rassegna d'Arte* of 1909 (p. 88). They belong to Mr. Francis L. Bacon of New York, and represent "SS. Christopher, Nicholas, James and Antony." As I am not acquainted with the originals, and as the reproduction gives me no color and no clear information as to condition, I can only say that the Nicholas and Antony may have been painted by Antonio and soon after 1440, but not the other Saints.

III

ANTONIO VIVARINI'S STUDIO

Compositions of a narrative character, both lay and ecclesiastical, must have abounded in Venice before 1480. Yet by an unlucky chance few of any earlier date have been preserved. All the more precious, consequently, are the few that have come down to us, and this alone should lead us to give some attention to three such paintings in the Walters Collection [1] (Figs. 4, 5, 6), even if they were intrinsically less interesting and entertaining than they are. They have, moreover, this additional importance that, since they are too large to have been chest fronts, we may imagine them to have formed the decorations of a room. They thus may

[1] Published by A. Venturi in *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 225, and ascribed to the school of Piero della Francesca.

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claim to be a rarity, since, in this kind, little even of Tuscan work has survived.

Unfortunately I am unable to interpret these pictures and say what they illustrate. I lack the necessary familiarity with the tales and romances which the later Middle Ages echoed from the remote past of Greece and Rome. And besides, it is not likely that the subject was exhausted in these three panels. They may well have formed part of a more numerous series in some consecutive scheme of decoration. Even the fact that one of them is two feet wider than the others, and may therefore have occupied a central position, gives me no clue.

Let us begin with this wider panel (Fig. 4). In the foreground of a landscape of rock and grove and wood, we see, a little to the left, an arched temple of rather Brunelleschian architecture. Within, on an elaborate pedestal, stands the statue of a naked goddess with a globe in her hand. Below are two priests, one of them wearing a high Byzantine hat. Outside are a number of ladies and gallants all meticulously dressed in the finery and foppery fashionable toward 1470 or so: shaved foreheads and bulging head-dresses for the women, curls and ringlets for the men, and sumptuous brocades for all. The gallants, with mincing gait, are trying first to induce and then to force the ladies to embark with them in a ship anchored on the right whose pennons bear the crescent moon. This emblem served, in the Renaissance, to indicate the presence of people who were regarded as outside the pale of Græco-Roman civilization, ancient or contemporary, of Bar-

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Fig. 4. STUDIO OF ANTONIO VIVARINI: ILLUSTRATION TO A ROMANCE.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 5. Studio of Antonio Vivarini: Illustration to a Romance.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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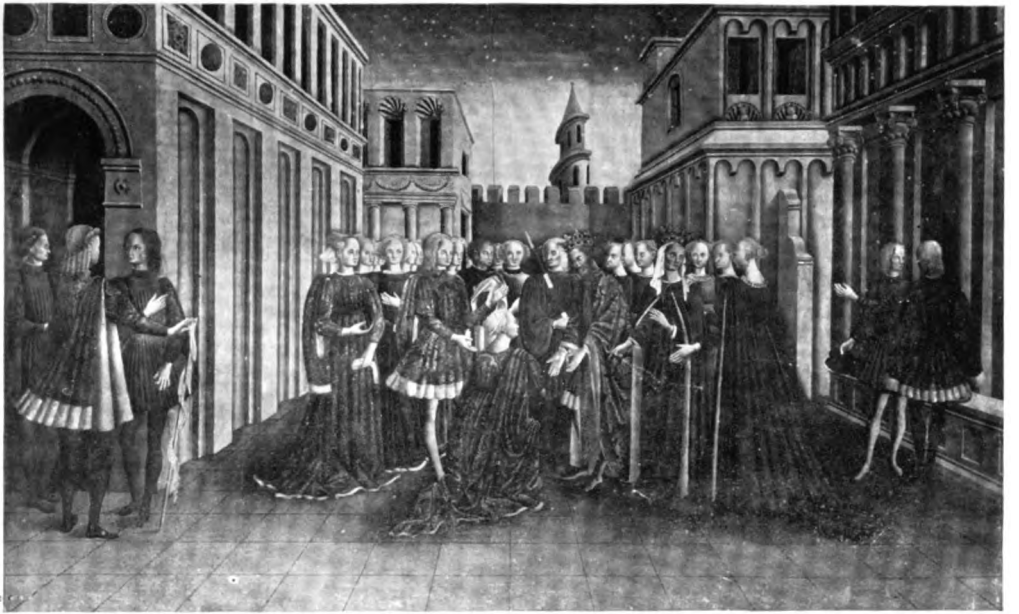

Fig. 6. STUDIO OF ANTONIO VIVARINI: ILLUSTRATION TO A ROMANCE.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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barians in the classic, or of Paynims in the Christian world.

We may perhaps assume that the narrative is continued in the panel (Fig. 5) which shows a group of ladies harangued by one of their number. Have they just landed from the galleon in the offing, and is the fool in motley celebrating the event, and are the gallants going to lead them into the town of toy blocks we see to our left? If so, then the third panel (Fig. 6) shows the same ladies in the royal square of the town, with their leader kneeling at the feet of a King, while his Queen and her ladies look on.

The faces are so ugly and the drawing so indifferent, that we may fail to do justice to these decorations. Yet apart from the quaintness and amusing absurdity which appeal to us but naturally were not apparent to contemporaries, these paintings have considerable qualities of narration and of arrangement and grouping as well. Evidently the painter revelled in brocades as much as the people he worked for, and one of the ladies, the one nearest the clown, has insisted on being portrayed from the back so that her gorgeous costume should be fully displayed. For us again, these paintings have the further value of revealing the ideal of elegant and stately existence entertained by Venetians of rank and fashion during the earlier Renaissance.

I assume that these decorations are Venetian, but as I first knew them many years ago passing for Cossa's, and as they entered Mr. Walters' Collection as "School of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo," a word to substantiate my attribution may not be out of place.

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I venture to believe that no one but an irresponsible amateur journalist or dealer would think of connecting these compositions with Fiorenzo, seeing they have nothing in common but their date. The ascription to Cossa, however, was not so senseless, for the ladies here are ugly in a way that reminds one of the faces in the Schifanoja frescoes at Ferrara. There is this difference, though, that in the Cossesque frescoes the ladies are ugly with energy, with humor and even with charm, while here they are ugly without alleviation or excuse. Moreover, the women at the Schifanoja are drawn and modeled with much vigor and mastery, while here the heads and faces are the weakest part of the work.

What we do find to be the case with the faces of the men as well as of the women in these panels, is that they have the pinched anxious look of Antonio Vivarini in his later years. The women, being ladies of fashion, do not occur in his known paintings, for these are all ecclesiastical, but the men may be found in the S. Zaccaria Polyptychs, in that of 1464 from Pesaro now in the Vatican, and even in the much earlier "Epiphany" in Berlin, to cite conspicuous examples only. The landscape with its spur-like hills occurs in the Berlin picture too, and the bushes and flowers are notably like those in any of Antonio's paintings. The strongest link in the chain connecting these decorative compositions with Antonio Vivarini is the architecture, with its tendency to the close repetition of perpendicular elements, whether arched or square-topped. How characteristic they are of the earliest Vivarini will be recognized by everyone who has in mind the S. Pantaleone "Corona-

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tion," the Venice Academy Triptych, or, better still, the *Predelle* in the Vienna Academy with the "Story of the Passion."

It would be tedious to carry my demonstration further. I do not ascribe these paintings to Antonio himself, because I find them a little too poor in drawing, and there are such slight divergences in type as one would expect in work designed by a master and executed by his pupils.

The date is clearly determined by the costumes as being about 1470.

IV

BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI

Bartolommeo Vivarini's more incisive hand can be distinguished in a number of elaborate polyptychs he helped his elder brother, Antonio, to paint for Istria, Dalmatia, the March of Ancona, and other lands accessible by sea. In his first independent work, the "St. John of Capistrano" of the Louvre, signed and dated 1454, the line is as sharp and raw as if cut in leather. It is as keen as Crivelli's, but without the rhythm. The crisp swirls of the scroll quite definitely recall Carlo Crivelli. We may indeed assume a contact between the two artists, taking place at Padua, whither Bartolommeo must have gone to make acquaintance with the innovations of Squarcione and his great pupils, Pizzolo and Mantegna. We detect the result through the rest of his career, not only in the obvious paraphernalia of fruits and garlands and other properties of the Squar-

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cione studio, but in a more earnest attempt at construction and modelling. For a time Bartolommeo must have given fair promise, but after some fifteen years he ossified his art into heavy stupid shapes, and into stereotyped arrangements, which then seem to have been carried out with mechanical dulness by the workmen of his factory.

Happily in America we can study the best that he achieved during his promising years of growth. If Mr. Platt's "Madonna" (Fig. 7) is not Bartolommeo's masterpiece, it is surpassed only by Mr. J. P. Morgan's "Epiphany."

In Mr. Platt's panel we see Our Lady seated on a marble throne, the back of which is hung with creased watered silk and garlands of fruit and leaves. She is as far away and immobile as a Madonna by Perugino, and the over eager Child seems to be unable to attract her attention, nor does she listen to the music of the four attending infant angels. As workmanship, the substance of this painting is almost like lacquer, and the color is brilliant and pure. Not these qualities alone remind us of Crivelli, but also the arrangement, the accessories and the details. On the other hand, the Virgin's face and the Child's action are still close to those in the Arbè polyptych which Bartolommeo painted with Antonio in 1458. Mr. Platt's picture is thus very likely one of the earliest quite independent works by Bartolommeo which has come down to us.[1]

[1] Mr. F. Mason Perkins was the first to recognize the author and the quality of this "Madonna." He published it on two separate occasions (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 145, and 1911, p. 146).

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Fig. 7. BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellowes Platt, Englewood, N. J.

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Fig. 8. Bartolommeo Vivarini: The Epiphany.
Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York.

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Mr. Morgan's small "Epiphany" (Fig. 8) expresses, more completely than most other treatments of that subject, the mingled hilariousness and solemnity which to this day in Italy gives that festival the character of a Northern Christmas. The Child turns to His mother as if frightened by the attentions of the gray-beard King prostrate at His feet. The youngest of the Three Kings looks on with dramatic interest equally ready to worship or to give way to repressed joviality, while the train of horsemen and pages in the middle distance is approaching merrily. In the background a great spur of a cliff dominates a snug inlet, on the other side of which rise the quadrangular palaces and towers of a stately town. In the limpid sky we see a choir of nude baby angels singing with music scrolls unfurled before them.

The workmanship is of the highest quality attained by Bartolommeo. The line, although biting, is yet so softened by the color as to be devoid of harshness. The color, for which the sumptuous apparel of the Three Kings gives full scope, is bright and lucid, yet fused. The effect is of enamel or lacquer. The arrangement in height is agreeable and not interrupted, as it might easily have been, by the pillars of the porch. The action is never again, in Bartolommeo's known works, so dramatic or so vital.

Indeed, this delightful painting was a great surprise to all of us, for it was quite unknown when it appeared several years ago at the Abdy Sale in London.[1] It has not only greatly enlarged and enhanced our notion of

[1] First recognized by Sir Claude Phillips.

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Bartolommeo's artistic personality, but given us the means of judging the influence he received and exerted. Thus, the landscape and the figures in the background betray contact with Jacopo Bellini. On the other hand, there is no certain trace of Mantegna. The Virgin's homely face seems a study from the living model, presented as it was seen, without schematization. Nothing is perhaps rarer in the art of Italy at that time. It is a face which was copied more than once by Bartolommeo's followers, notably in a "Madonna" in the Venice Academy (No. 616), ascribed to the master himself. The rectilinear solid masses of building and the rich cornices we now can recognize as his, and they are of no small aid in our efforts to classify the Venetian paintings of the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

A brief note taken so long ago as 1894—since when I have not seen the picture again—refers to the "Magdalen" then at Mr. Quincy Shaw's in Boston as being of a quality equal almost to Crivelli's; and that is still the impression left in my memory.

A mere mention will here suffice for the two remarkably fine and strenuous full-length figures of "SS. James and Francis" in the possession of Mr. Johnson. They are discussed and reproduced in my Catalogue of his collection; and we may pass on, therefore, to a picture (Fig. 9) in the collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I., which closes Bartolommeo's golden period. The Madonna, seen between a parapet and a red curtain, holds the Child uneasily seated on a white cushion. He looks out of the picture

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Fig. 9. BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: MADONNA.
Collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.

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eagerly and restlessly, and His Mother gazes at Him forbodingly from half-closed eyes. There is a pathos here which is characteristic of the seventh and eighth decades of the fifteenth century in Venice, as may be seen in the Madonnas by Giovanni Bellini of these years, although modified, in him, by the restraint of a great master. It is far removed from the meditative placidity of Bartolommeo's earliest Madonnas such as Mr. Platt's, and the reason for its sudden appearance would be worthy of study.

As a painting in the more specific sense, this panel would deserve to rank not only with its author's best but with the best Venetian work of the time, if its condition did not rob it of most of its virtue. Even the signature has been tampered with, and the date may be read as either 1472 or 1477. Either date might be correct, for the type and the spirit is in accord with other works of this period, both by Bartolommeo Vivarini and by Giovanni Bellini. And it is scarcely to be doubted that in these years Bartolommeo was following close upon Bellini, as indeed the Child in this picture manifests so unmistakably.[1]

From about 1480 till the end of his career Bartolommeo's own art became so dull and his studio so prolific that it is hard to tell whether a given work is autograph or not. It does not matter greatly, I confess. Thus, whether a "Madonna" in Mr. Johnson's Collection, dating from the eighties, and another in the Fogg

[1] First published by Mr. Joseph Breck in the *Rassegna d'Arte* (1911, p. 111), in the course of an excellent article on the collection of Mr. Davis. I knew the picture years before in the hands of the dealer who reduced it to its present devitalized condition.

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Museum of Cambridge of earlier date,[1] were painted as well as designed by Bartolommeo, may be left an open question. Such, however, is not the case with the elaborate polyptych surrounding a carved *Pietà* dated 1485, and signed as these articles for export generally were, with the "FACTVM VENETIIS PER BARTOLOMEUM," etc., which is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is obviously a factory work, but, for a factory work, not a bad one. Discreetly lighted in the incense-laden atmosphere of a harmoniously colored chapel, it must have been effective.[2]

V

CRIVELLI'S MADONNAS

In Carlo Crivelli the Byzantine painting of the West reached its culmination and fullest fruition, Crivelli no doubt owed much to the Paduans, but his gorgeous polyptychs, filled with a sensuous splendor of decorative detail, suggesting the *iconostaseis* of Greek churches, are still in essence mediæval Greek. There is, however, in his art a quality of genius which the Byzantine world never produced, and, without Renaissance leaven, probably never could have produced. The stirring of the Quattrocento spirit, which in Flor-

[1] It is probably a studio version of an original in the museum of Sassari (Photo. Alinari 32687).

[2] As this is going through the press I hear that Mr. Philip Lehman of New York has acquired Lord Wemys' Madonna with the "Annunciation," "Nativity," and "Pietà." It is a welcome addition to our Vivarinis although it does not come up to either Mr. Platt's "Madonna," or Mr. Morgan's "Epiphany." It must have been painted toward the end of Bartolommeo's early period.

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Fig. 10. Carlo Crivelli: Madonna Enthroned.
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.

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ence, and under the influence of Florence, was so prolific, produced, when in union with Eastern methods and traditions, no signal offspring but Crivelli.

Fortunately he is represented in our collections by works not only of the best quality but of the largest variety. Many phases of his style may be studied without leaving America.

The earliest example is the "Enthroned Madonna" [1] in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. (Figure 10.) It happens to be at the same time the most sumptuous and the most magnificent. Indeed, if other works of his earlier years equal or surpass this gorgeous figure in vitality of contour and plasticity of planes, none even approaches it for decorative splendor. Therein it anticipates his maturest masterpieces.

It need scarcely be pointed out to the student for whom I am writing how Muranese the throne in this picture is, nor how the artist's evident joy in painting garlands and his zest in solving puzzles of perspective is related to the Paduan school of Squarcione. Not less apparent is the Byzantine influence in the pattern of the Virgin's entire silhouette and in her draperies; most of all, in the lower part.

The task remains to place this masterpiece among its next of kin in Crivelli's career. In design it stands closest to the more tentative "Madonna" in the Cook Collection at Richmond, which I should date 1469, but in every other respect it marks a more mature style. The Child, for instance, is less pinched and anxious-

[1] Published by R. E. Fry, *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 308, and by F. J. Mather, Jr., *Art in America*, I, p. 48.

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looking than He is there, or in the earlier Massa polyptych, or the still earlier Verona panel. On the other hand, His movement is not so free and alive as in the Macerata "Madonna" of 1470, or Mr. Robert Benson's of 1472, or in the "Madonna" probably of the same year at Brussels. The Virgin in the Ascoli Polyptych dated 1473 stands very close to this one. The picture is thus related to works whose dates spread over four years or so, and this is not unnatural, since, as a matter of fact, few artists pursue a course like a straight line never turning. Most oscillate slightly back and forwards, or even progress spirally, as it were, so that it is never safe to take one detail as proof of a fixed date. In this case, the balance of evidence seems to put Mr. Lehman's picture just before the Macerata Madonna, whom she so closely resembles in facial type, and would thus place it as the first of a series marking Crivelli's earliest maturity.

With the "Madonna" of 1476 in the lately reconstituted polyptych of the National Gallery[1] began a more definitely ripe phase of Crivelli's art, lasting till the Brera triptych of 1482. It is characterized by greater facility with a scarcely noticeable loss of poignancy, and one begins to meet with a certain mincingness and the first signs of the forced yet charming mannerism of his later years, the consequence, for good or evil, of his provincial environment. The most dainty and attractive work of this period is the exquisite

[1] It is conceded that the uppermost tier never belonged to the rest. The St. Catherine looks like a figure of much later date, close to the same saint at Berlin.

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Fig. 11. Carlo Crivelli: Madonna with SS. Francis and Bernardino and Donor.

Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Northbrook "Madonna." It is a phase unrepresented in America.

A fourth period begins with the Brera triptych just mentioned, and ends with the Berlin Altarpiece, not dated, but painted just before 1490. In these years Crivelli gets more and more sumptuous, more gorgeous, more magnificent. He has greater recourse to embossing in the striving for effects germane to the arts of ornamentation rather than of decoration. The mannerisms in pose and expression increase, and a slight listlessness begins to enfeeble his hand.

To this moment of his art belongs the panel (Fig. 11) in the collection of Mr. Walters. The Madonna appears in an arch in front of a curtained niche; she supports the Child on an embroidered cushion on the parapet. St. Francis is on the one side and St. Bernardino on the other. On the parapet we discover the miniature figure of the Donor, a Friar whose initials "F. B. D. A." may have stood for Frate Bernardino, or Benedetto da Ascoli, or Amandola, or Ancona.

It is a delightful work of soft but rich color and lacquer-like effect. The feeling is still delicate in the Virgin's face, but in St. Francis it is over-externalized, and started already on the easy road that led to Guido Reni. In the modelling, too, there is a relative emptiness. The closest affinities of this work are with the South Kensington and Bergamo "Madonnas" and the great Berlin altarpiece. It must have been painted toward 1488.

The pleasant enough but somewhat empty panels of the Metropolitan Museum, portraying a combative

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"St. Dominic" and an operatic "St. George," illustrate this phase of Crivelli's career; while to the end of the period belongs a very different "St. George" (Fig. 12), the marvellous fairy-tale in gold and lacquer and flaming line, holding a place of honor among Mrs. J. L. Gardner's masterpieces. Here is not an attitudinizing page-boy, but the ever youthful defender of eternal right against regardless might. His face of beauty and passion and his slim body are outlined against the golden sky, while he bestrides a gorgeously caparisoned steed, himself in shining armor that can never lose the purity of its luster. He is now hacking away at the Dragon, already transfixed by his lance. The young knight, too, is nearly spent, but his victory is sure. Under the bastion towers of the undevastated city kneels in prayer the Princess for whom he is fighting. Stately trees stand dark against the sky. What a pattern—and what an allegory!

VI

CRIVELLI PIETÀS

Mr. Babbott's "St. James,"[1] an eager, gnarled, apostolic figure, takes us back to the earlier years of Crivelli's career, toward 1473 or 1474; and to the same period, or indeed a trifle earlier, belongs the first of the three *Pietàs* by him that we own in America. It is the heartfelt tender picture at Mr. J. G. Johnson's, which for reasons detailed in the Catalogue of the col-

[1] Mr. F. L. Babbott of Brooklyn. This picture is reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1911 (p. 207).

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Fig. 12. Carlo Crivelli St. George and the Dragon.
Collection of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, Boston.

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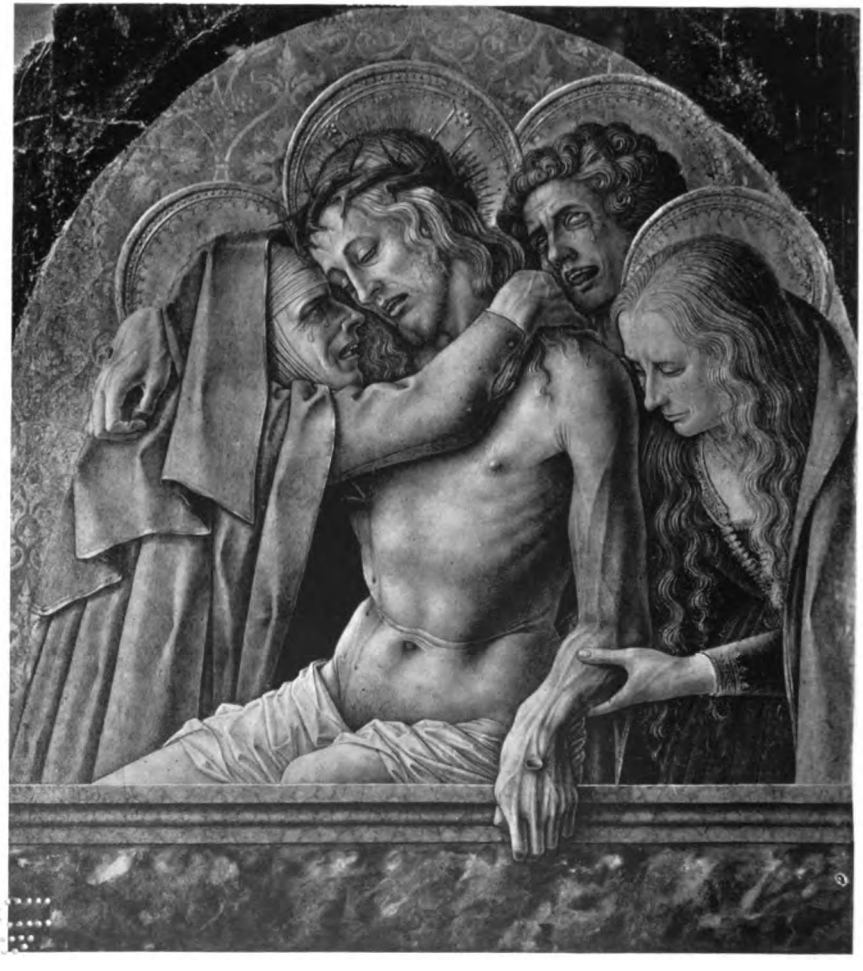

Fig. 13. Carlo Crivelli: Pietà.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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lection I would place no later than 1473.[1] Twelve years after this, during the time when Crivelli had attained his greatest mastery and was more than ever magnificently ornate in his accessories, he painted the most original of all his treatments of this sublime subject, the famous *Pietà* of 1485, which years ago passed from the Panciatichi Collection in Florence to the Museum of Boston.

In this panel Our Lord is not seen as in the others, settled into the tomb while supported by bystanders. Here His entire figure—a nude, by the way, not unworthy of Signorelli—is still visible, and the consequent action is more dynamic, while the arrangement admirably helps on the impression of upward-lifted weight.

The Crawshay *Pietà* (Fig. 13), recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, is a compacter work of more relaxed feeling, although the action of Our Lord's Mother is passionate enough. But the Saviour of this *Pietà,* like the one in the still later Vatican version, is as calm and noble in His bodily sleep as the Dead Christs of Bellini. Crivelli's "Annunciation" of 1486 would make one suspect that, just before painting it, he had paid a flying visit to Venice, his old home. Could we be sure of this, it would account for the unusually Bellinesque feeling.

[1] Reproduced there as well as in Prof. A. Venturi's compendious history of Italian Art (Vol. VII, part IV, p. 393). The same volume contains reproductions of nearly all the Crivellis mentioned here.

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VII

VICTOR CRIVELLI

No example is known to me in American collections of Crivelli's last phase, occupying the four years between 1489 and his death in 1493, and characterized by a more somber splendor of aspect, and by an increased mincingness and affectation in pose and expression, as may be seen in typical works in London and Milan. Of his later style, his well-known pupils and followers, Victor Crivelli and Pietro Alemanno, were the natural heirs; and, as is frequently the case with disciples, they at times anticipated and always outdid their master's exaggerations. Victor, the better workman, was the most prolific, producing flattened and lusterless imitations of his namesake's masterpieces. Intrinsically they are agreeable. Pietro was unequal, and his better moments revealed a painter who was almost an artist.

I have not come across anything in America that can be ascribed to Pietro Alemanno. Victor, on the other hand, is represented by several specimens, including one that may rank with his best. This is a polyptych in the Wilstach Gallery at Philadelphia.[1] In the central panel, dated 1489, we see Our Lady holding the Child standing on her knee, while four Angels adore Him. In the side panels stand SS. Louis and Francis, the Baptist and St. Bonaventura. Of nearly the same value are two figures, a "Baptist" and a "Bishop," in the

[1] Published by F. M. Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 120.

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FIG. 14. JACOPO BELLINI (?): ST. JEROME.
Collection of Mr. Augustus Healy, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Walters Collection. The small bust of a youthful "Franciscan Friar Reading," ascribed in the Metropolitan Museum to Niccolò da Foligno, is earlier and more subtle than the others.

The full-length figure of a bony and parched "Baptist" in the Walters Collection is by still another follower of Crivelli, who elsewhere has signed himself "Nicola di Maestro Antonio de Ancona." The attribution to Verrocchio is no doubt a tribute to the structure, drawing and modelling, which are perhaps more suggestive of Florence than of the Marches. It would take me too far away to relate this panel to other works by the same hand. I shall do this elsewhere.[1]

VIII

JACOPO BELLINI

Before concluding this chapter in which we have studied the painting of Venice in its waning phases of Byzantinism finally diminished, in Bartolommeo Vivarini and Crivelli, to an influence rather than to an obvious manifestation, we must turn back to a picture which it was not convenient to discuss earlier, a full length "St. Jerome" (Fig. 14) belonging to Mr. Augustus Healy of Brooklyn, New York.

I saw it for but a minute at the end of a fatiguing day, and although impressed by the vigour of the conception and the great beauty of the cardinal's red robes, my tired brain grasped only its obvious resemblance to

[1] *Rassegna d'Arte*, Aug., 1915, and my forthcoming "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," 4th series.

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Antonio Vivarini. Directly I received a photograph, I perceived that this virile prelate had nothing of the senility that always enfeebles Antonio's conception of St. Jerome, that the lion was closer to nature and far more alive than his, and that the draperies, instead of his caligraphic arrangements, displayed a real and fruitful interest in the logic of structure.

Adding to these observations my recollection of the strong yet harmonious colour, I quickly was led to wonder whether Jacopo Bellini was not the author of this in its kind splendid achievement. I am inclined to think that he was.

I fear, however, that I scarcely can offer satisfactory demonstration, for Jacopo's undisputed paintings are few, and we know little of his chronology. All I can say is that these paintings, supplementing the wider information extended by his two sketch-books and scattered drawings, leave on my mind the impression of an artistic personality which in its most advanced moments could have designed and executed this picture. I discover nothing in it which he might not have done. The ear, the hands might be his, and the lion reminds me of his drawings. The draperies are somewhat more functional than in any of his extant works, but Jacopo might easily in his last years have attained to them.

I feel confirmed in the belief that Jacopo Bellini may have created this picture by the fact that, although Venetian, it cannot be attributed to any other known artist of Venice. Only the transitional ones, those untouched by the Squarcionesque movement, are in question, and of them not one could have done it: neither

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Jacobello, nor Giambono, nor Francesco de Franceschi, nor Negroponte, nor Giovanni or Antonio da Murano. It may be argued that it is by still another quite forgotten man. To me, however, it seems improbable that an artist of such worth would have been so forgotten. It is easier to believe that Jacopo painted it as part of some gorgeous polyptych long since scattered.

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CHAPTER II

ANTONELLO DA MESSINA AND HIS IMITATORS

WE have now dealt with that branch of Venetian painting which clung to Byzantine craftsmanship even after it had deserted the more obvious charteristics of Byzantine art. But before we proceed to study the main current of Quattrocento painting in Venice—almost wholly derived, as it was, from Continental Italian sources—it will be convenient to give our attention to an infiltration from Sicily, which had, according to early contemporary accounts, no small effect upon the art of the Island City. Unfortunately it is not easy to measure this influence now. The epoch-making masterpieces that Antonello da Messina left in Venice have disappeared, and with them the chief documents for the study of the changes, amounting almost to a revolution, that were traced to his visit. It would be extremely interesting to take the one course remaining open and to examine minutely the residuum that is left over in Venetian painting after all that the Vivarini and the Bellini contributed had been deducted, and to compare this residuum with the indisputable works of Antonello and his pupils and followers. The solution of few problems in Italian art would contribute

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Fig. 15. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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more illuminating results, provided it were undertaken by a scholar of long experience, armed with inexhaustible patience and endless leisure.

But we are not at this juncture called upon to be put to the proof. Our humbler task is to study the pictures of the great Sicilian master that have come over to America, as well as those of his pupils and followers and obvious imitators, whether Sicilian, Venetian or South Italian.

I

JOHNSON AND ALTMAN PORTRAITS

Antonello himself is represented in America by two busts, one in the Johnson and the other in the Altman Collection. Mr. John G. Johnson's "Portrait" (Fig. 15) is already well known. It represents a full-fleshed, broad-faced, smooth-shaven young man, with strong nose and sensitive, sensual, determined mouth, who looks out at us with agreeable curiosity, and does not resent being looked at in return. But, as in nearly all the portraiture of the Quattrocento—as, indeed, in nearly all great portraiture of any time—the sitter here makes no appeal for admiration or sympathy. He is there for you to study; and if he has secrets, he is not secretive; pay out line enough to plumb him, and he will not seek to elude you.

So much for the human presentment. Plastically, the planes could scarcely be larger and simpler, or the contour more supple. With the drapery falling down from the folded cloth cap, Antonello produces the effect

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of conical mass which he constantly strove for, and realized so impressively in Mr. Robert Benson's "Madonna" and in the "Virgin Annunciate" at Munich. Indeed, all that is most characteristic of the great Sicilian, in his brief years of complete realization, is amply revealed by this powerful head.

The Altman "Portrait" (Fig. 16) is perhaps more attractive. It is of a youth with a Luinesque face and a look and smile saved from being like Luini's by the sobriety and self-restraint of the painter. It is probably only the resistance a pretty face like this opposes to artistic values that accounts for the slight inferiority of this painting to Mr. Johnson's picture.

As it is less well known, it may not be amiss to place it in line with Antonello's other works. The nose is drawn and modelled as in the Louvre and Borghese "Heads," and the mouth as in the Cefalù "Portrait," the Benson "Madonna" and the Munich "Virgin Annunciate." The likeness in contour and plastic treatment to the Johnson "Head" need not be insisted on. From all these indications, we can be fairly certain that the Altman "Portrait" dates from Antonello's maturest period. We get further support for this view from the closer resemblance in the hair to the so-called "Humanist" of the Milan Castello (certainly a late picture) than to any other of Antonello's portraits, as well as from the curious Luinesque aspect of the sitter. Is it too fanciful to suppose that this pretty type of face really existed in the Milan of that time, before Leonardo went there, and before Luini was born? If the youth were Milanese, then we could assume that he

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Fig. 16. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.
Altman Bequest, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

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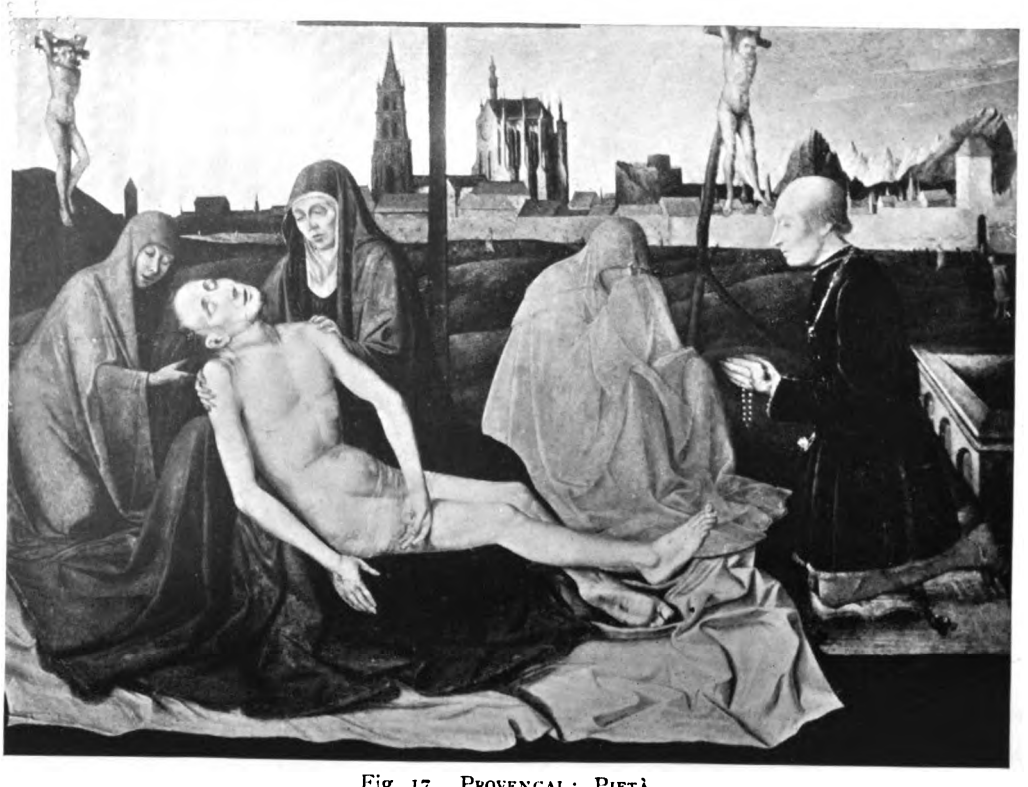

Fig. 17. PROVENÇAL: PIETÀ
Collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, New York.

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sat for Antonello during the artist's sojourn in Milan in 1476.

II

MR. FRICK'S PIETÀ NOT BY ANTONELLO

Antonello, while great in portraiture, was no less great in composition. Much as we admire his heads, we admire even more such subjects as the Syracuse "Annunciation," the Antwerp "Crucifixion," the Correr *"Pietà"* and the National Gallery "St. Jerome." Like the portraits, they hold the attention by the inexhaustible stimulus of the essential art values, and they add to these, symphonic effects of orchestration, as it were, that relax and repose. Fortunate should we be if one of these rare treasures were to be enjoyed on this side of the Atlantic. But it is not the case. The one composition ascribed to him, Mr. Frick's *"Pietà"* (Fig. 17) (sometime exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum), is not by him or by any other Italian. It is almost certainly, as MM. Hulin and Vitry declared years ago,[1] by a Provençal painter. Seeing, however, that Mr. Frick's picture has slipped into the new Murray edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle as by Antonello, so that the authority of that time-honoured but seldom trustworthy guide may impose upon students, it will be worth while to discuss the attribution here.

Let us, to begin with, make ample acknowledgment

[1] Hulin in "Catalogue Critique" of Bruges Exhibition, 1902 (No. 32, p. 9). Vitry in *Les Arts*, April, 1904, p. 42. In the catalogue of the "Primitifs Français" exhibition of 1904 (p. 40, No. 84), Bouchot wrote that it might be the work of a Fleming painting at the foot of the Alps.

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to the fascination of this *"Pietà."* It has a poetry and a pathos, a restraint and a distinction that place it among the masterpieces of imaginative art. The painter, knowing the emotional effect produced by a silhouetted horizon seen at a certain distance, has used it as an enveloping background for the dominant masses. Behind these he places huddled and hushed figures that add to the sense of awe and suspense. The shaft of the central Cross commands the horizon, its mysterious incompleteness accentuating the touching humanity of the Magdalen fondling the hair thrown back from the head of the dead Christ, and the other crouching Mary sobbing in her close-wrapped cloak. The great sheet that extends under the folds of His Mother's mantle carries and unites all the figures, except that of the kneeling Donor, who remains of purpose outside the group as a piteous and devout spectator. No doubt there is an insistent though vague perfume of Venice in this picture. Close analysis reduces it, in so far as it can be given definite form, to something as little as the evocation, in the figure of the Magdalen, of the Blessed Virgin in Bellini's great Brera *"Pietà."* True, the masterly combination of figures, buildings and landscape to produce a definite emotional appeal is very Venetian, although of a later date than the probable one of this picture, for it only comes to completion with Giorgione.

It was a tradition to think of Antonello da Messina directly we felt a something Venetian in a Quattrocento work of Northern character; but how much that is specifically and solely Antonello's does the Frick

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"Pietà" contain? The answer is "Nothing at all," and I will now attempt to justify this answer.

In the first place, Antonello was not an imaginative artist. As was the case with Piero della Francesca and Velasquez, his greatness consisted in presenting objects more directly, more penetratingly, more connectedly and more completely than we could see them for ourselves, and not in making a dramatic or moving arrangement of his vision that might make a further appeal to our emotions. He was more bent upon extracting the corporeal than the spiritual significance of things, and while he at times, and not very successfully (as in the "Ecce Homo" at Piacenza, and the other in Baron Schickler's Collection), attempted to portray the emotion of others, he invariably refrained from conveying his own or trying directly to affect ours. Call to mind his Antwerp "Crucifixion." The crucified figures to right and left, although suggested by Franco-Flemish models intended to evoke a strong emotional response, have in his hands become the occasion for the painting of firm, supple, youthful nudes in attitudes singularly suited to display tactile values and movement. The Mother of Our Lord and the Beloved Disciple appeal for no sympathy in their grief. Our Lord on the Cross has none of the tender and exquisite pathos of Mr. Frick's Dead Christ. The landscape does not transport us, but rather, like all objective works of art, unobtrusively draws us into itself. And, with differences, the same is true of the London "Crucifixion," and even of the ruined but sublimely designed *"Pietà"* in the Correr Museum at Venice.

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In other terms, the music of Mr. Frick's picture is more equivalent to Beethoven than to Bach. Closer analysis makes the distinction clearer. In Antonello the feeling for tactile values is almost at its highest, while in this work it is indifferent and far inferior to the imaginative conception. It is almost absurd to think of Antonello in the presence of such dubious drawing and petty planes as we find in the faces here, the Madonna's in particular. It is no less difficult to recognize in the stiff, dry nude, with its trivial realism and ugly extremities, the Antonello who painted the almost classically plastic "St. Sebastians" at Dresden and Bergamo, or the crucified figures at Antwerp. Furthermore, in no period of his career as it is known to us was Antonello so Northern, not even in his National Gallery "Head of Christ," his earliest extant work which he no doubt copied from a design by Rogier de la Pasture. There, he is as Flemish in technique as he is in type, but the plastic sense and the touch remain Italian—*italianissimo.*

Nor is the detail in Mr. Frick's panel specifically Antonellesque, nor, even, in the last analysis, Italian. The folds of the sheet and of the Virgin's mantle come nearest to Antonello, but how unfunctional they are compared with his. The superficial likeness is due to the fact that both artists have taken their system of draperies from common Northern tradition; but Antonello never fails to Italianize them and to impart to them the quality of his firm, purposeful drawing. The pendent figures upon the crosses may be accounted for by the same common traditional origin. The huddled weep-

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ing woman, on the other hand, is surely a daughter of some Burgundian *pleureuse,* and the mountain landscape I have seen in many a picture in the Southeast of France. As for the town, with its steep, Gothic church, I cannot believe an unprejudiced and instructed eye would see in it an Italian invention.

And yet, this masterpiece of imaginative art does undeniably exhale a perfume of Italy. Such Italianism was not infrequent in Provence and the Niçois. How Sienese and close to Sassetta was Jacques Durandi, and how reminiscent of Venice was the later and inferior Antoine Ronzen. So everything brings us back to the conclusion already arrived at by M. Hulin and M. Vitry, than whom Flemish and French Quattrocento paintings have no more able students. They rightly pointed to a "Nativity with Bishop and Donor" at Avignon as a work of closely similar origin.[1]

III

MR. WALTERS' FEMALE HEAD

I suspect that a picture like Mr. Frick's would never have been attributed to Antonello if it had not been the common assumption that he was all but a Fleming who happened to be working in Italy. And it is to be feared that such errors will keep reappearing until the exact origins of Antonello and his entire chronology can be firmly established. Documents found in Sicily have

[1] See *Les Arts,* April, 1904, p. 37. There, on the two next pages but one, are reproduced two French *"Pietàs"* which have significant points of contact with Mr. Frick's.

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already aided us unexpectedly with most important information; saving us also from a cataract of misinformation just then poured out by other documents found at Venice. Although obviously not applicable, the latter, had they been taken at their first valuation and not relegated to their proper place by other information, would have thwarted all efforts to set the Antonello problem straight.[1] Sicilian scholars may again succeed in discovering archives which will still further help us out. Much, too, may be expected from a more systematic study than has yet been made of Sicilian painting during the whole of the fifteenth century. And, as this, like all South Italian painting, was subjected to Aragonese influence, we may hope to get considerable assistance from the study of Catalonian painting, as well as the painting of Sardinia, which it so largely influenced, and of Provençal art, to which it was so closely related.

A picture of the kind (Fig. 18) which may ultimately serve such studies is to be seen in Mr. Walters' Collection at Baltimore. It is the bust of a thoughtful young woman—perhaps of one just deceased—represented as a female saint intent upon her prayer-book. Two angels hold a jewelled crown over her blond head, and this crown is filled with roses. The colouring is rich, saturated and harmonious, with something of the juiciness of a Van Eyck.

Fortunately, another picture by the same hand is in existence, and one that helps to explain their origin. It

[1] La Corte-Cailler, "Antonello da Messina," 1903. Di Marzo, "Di Antonello da Messina," etc., 1903; "Nuovi Studi su Antonello, 1905" Dr. Ludwig, "Antonello da Messina und deutsche niederlandische Künstler in Venedig," 1902.

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Fig. 18. Palermitan Follower of Antonello da Messina: Portrait of a Lady Represented as St. Rosalie of Palermo.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 19. Palermitan Follower of Antonello da Messina: Madonna and Child.
Salting Bequest, National Gallery, London.

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is a "Madonna" (Fig. 19) that passed with the Salting Collection to the National Gallery. Here we have a much more massive, more powerful human type, but in other respects the two pictures are as close to each other as possible while remaining independent creations. As both are here reproduced, I shall not insult the student's intelligence by insisting on the identity of pictorial purpose and craftsmanship in both. They betray the spirit and handiwork of a painter of solid attainments and vigorous grasp, reinforced, perhaps, by a certain provincial self-sufficiency.

When the Salting picture first appeared, its mixture of Italian and Flemish traits, and its somewhat rustic heartiness led many critics to regard it as by a Catalan, and a Catalan working in Sicily. Since the rediscovery of Antonello's "Annunciation" (now at Syracuse) and the publication of Mr. Benson's "Madonna" by Mr. Borenius as a work of Jacopo, Antonello's son, and by myself as Antonello da Messina's own[1] there can be no further question that the Salting "Madonna" was painted in Sicily by some one, no matter from whence, who was acquainted with the work of Antonello. For not only in conception, but in treatment as well, we see the close relationship with the great master, and with the Benson "Madonna" in particular.

The Walters picture would seem the later of the two by a short interval, for it is at once less frankly "primitive" and farther away from Antonello. The fact that

[1] *Rassegna d'Arte,* June, 1912; *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* March, 1913, reprinted in "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," Third Series. See also Mr. Benson's admirable catalogue of his own collection.

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it represents a saint whom angels are crowning with roses,[1] intended probably to be St. Rosalie, the Patroness of Palermo, makes it likely that the painter was connected with that capital. The technique, too, with its richer medium, leads one to a school closer to Catalonia than was Messina, and thus again to Palermo. The author of this and the Salting panel was probably an artist of that town who, in these two works, shows close contact with Antonello. For the present we can say no more. But, as no other of Antonello's Sicilian followers has anything like the vigour and accomplishment displayed by this artist, it were highly desirable to know more about him. It is a wish that can be realized only by discovering further works by the same hand.[2]

IV

ANTONIO DE SALIBA: MR. WINTHROP'S MADONNA

I am not acquainted with any other painting which, while certainly not by Antonello, comes as close to him as the small "Madonna Enthroned" (Fig. 20) belonging to Mr. Grenville Winthrop of New York. She sits in the foreground of a park-like landscape, on a spacious throne decorated with sphinxes, and holds little flowers on the flat palm of her hand. The Child on her knee pays no attention to her offering, but blesses with His right hand.

[1] The whole motif is taken over from Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 at Messina, and this head may represent a "Virgin Annunciate" crowned with roses. It is a most unlikely but not an impossible subject.

[2] In the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson there is a "Madonna" (No. 161) by an unknown Sicilian master who resembles Antonio da Palermo.

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Fig. 20. ANTONIO DE SALIBA (?): MADONNA ENTHRONED.
Collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop, New York.

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The proximity of the figure to Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 is evident. The Virgin's open hand, the silhouette of the spreading folds, the platform itself —although less simple, less stiff, if you will—were, in the one, obviously suggested by the other. Her halo has the minute particularities of the halo of "St. Gregory" out of the same Polyptych. The Child, on the other hand, although partaking of the same action, is closer to the one in the Antonellesque "Madonna" [1] at Vienna, or to the odiously affected one in Jacopo d'Antonello's "Madonna" at Bergamo.

Although reminiscent of the "Madonna" of 1473, Mr. Winthrop's is clearly of somewhat later date. Except very faintly, in the shape of the platform, there is no trace of Gothic in the architectural forms, which, on the

[1] This important work (Imperial Gallery, No. 89) was ascribed by me twenty-five years ago to Boccaccio Boccaccino. When publishing the "North Italian Painters," I inserted it with a question mark into the list of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" paintings. Soon afterwards I turned back, for the first time in twenty years, to the systematic and continuous study of the Venetians, and I perceived that this picture was intimately related to Antonello. As it was in lamentable condition, and had, indeed, been cut down even since it was copied by Teniers, I made every effort, before pronouncing an opinion upon it, to have it properly restored; but I fear that this may not be done soon under the present unfortunate circumstances. I may as well confess here and now to a faint hope that a picture which produces in ruin such an impression, and which entered the collection of the Archduke Leopold as a Bellini, i. e., as a Quattrocento picture from Venice of great value, may turn out to be a fragment of Antonello's famous S. Cassiano Altarpiece. Only the most serious students of Italian art can appreciate what a chasm the disappearance of that epoch-making work made in our history of Venetian painting, and how invaluable any attempt to fill it would be. Meanwhile Dr. Borenius published, in May, 1913, in the *Burlington Magazine*, his own independent conclusions regarding the Vienna picture, pointing out its probable affinities with Antonello's lost masterpiece.

When the above paragraph was already in print I had word from Dr. Gluck, the director of the Vienna picture gallery, that the restoration had been made. It would take too long to discuss the results here. They will be found in the third series of my "Study and Criticism of Italian Art."

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contrary, are elaborately Renaissance. The folds have lost their Flemish angularity and are rounder. The kerchief is worn as in Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie" and its companion "Madonna" in the National Gallery.

We thus have in Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna" a little masterpiece of distinctly Antonellesque inspiration, and it would be interesting to discover its painter. If Prof. Toesca had not done Antonello's son, Jacopo, such a bad turn as proving him to be the author of a picture which shows him up as a simpering and affected sub-mediocrity, one would naturally think of him.[1] But one dare not assume that, even after the lapse of ten or twelve years, the painter of a picture so simple and direct as Mr. Winthrop's could have declined to the dulcified and mannered "Madonna" at Bergamo. Possibly it was painted by some quite unknown man, but we cannot resist the temptation to see whether another close follower of Antonello, his nephew, Antonio or Antonello de Saliba, could not have been its author.

Although Antonio de Saliba was, as documents state, the pupil of the great Antonello's son, Jacopo, who seems to have done nothing of consequence but transmit his father's influence, we find little in de Saliba's works that does not go back to Antonello himself or to the great Venetians of his time. He not only imitated Antonello deliberately and closely, as in the Vienna *"Pietà,"* but, as in the "Virgin Annunciate" of Venice, he copied him outright.

[1] *Rassegna d'Arte,* 1911, p. 16. In the Bergamo Gallery: signed and dated 1490. In the inscription Jacopo boasts of being the son of a more than human painter, which is a tactful way of confessing that he knew his own place.

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Comparison with other works undisputably by Antonio de Saliba—the "Madonnas" of Catania (1497), of Catanzaro (1508), of Spoleto, of Berlin (about 1488), of the Davis Collection at Newport (about the same date)—does not preclude the possibility that Mr. Winthrop's is an earlier work by the same hand. Neither the types nor the draperies, nor, least of all, the landscape, would oppose such a conclusion. A significant point in favour is the treatment of the wings of the sphinxes who form the supporting arms of the throne. As in de Saliba's *"Pietà"* at Vienna, these are painted with much display of feathers, and are not so generalized as in Antonello's Correr *"Pietà"* or in his "Announcing Angels" at Messina and at Syracuse. I may add that Mr. Winthrop's panel, when I first saw it, made on me a strong impression of being by de Saliba, and that I have learned to give, I venture to confess, a certain value to first and spontaneous impressions, for they generally represent almost unconscious and hence unprejudiced rapid syntheses of buried memories.

I am thus inclined to assume, with certain reserves, that this interesting and attractive panel was painted by Antonio de Saliba soon after the one in the Collection of Baron Cowado Arezzo at Ragusa Inferiore in Sicily, and some years before the "Madonna of the Rosary" of 1489, which happily escaped from the last Messina earthquake.

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V

MR. THEODORE M. DAVIS' MADONNA

A work by de Saliba of unquestionable authenticity, although not signed, is the "Madonna" (Fig. 21) already referred to in the collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I. Our Lady, an imposing, pyramidal mass towering over the horizon, worships the Child, Who lies naked on a parapet playing at once with His coral amulet and the folds of her dress. She is more impressive than any other of this painter's Madonnas, thanks to a happy harmony of the Antonellesque sense of geometrical bulk with the Bellinesque feeling for the spiritually significant. Even the Berlin "Madonna" shows a decline from this height.

The Davis "Madonna" would thus seem to have been the fruit of de Saliba's earliest maturity, following upon his first contact with Venice. If the Ragusa picture be his, and Mr. Winthrop's, they betray no certain trace of Venetian influence. Here, on the contrary, it is manifest, although not so obvious as in the Berlin "Madonna," which, indeed, I suspect of being a free copy of a lost Bellini.

Mr. Robert Minturn, of New York, has a "Madonna,"with regard to the authorship of which I am still in doubt. It was reproduced and briefly discussed in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for April, 1913, and there the opinion was expressed that, while bearing considerable resemblance to the one of the Davis Collection just pre-

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Fig. 21. Antonio de Saliba: Madonna.
Collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.

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Fig. 22. SOUTH ITALIAN: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellowes Platt, Englewood, N. J.

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sented, it was quite likely a more purely Bellinesque work.

On the other hand, the "Holy Face" in Mr. Johnson's Collection at Philadelphia is certainly Messinese, and I am inclined to give it to de Saliba, while admitting the possibility that it may be by his teacher and cousin, Jacopo. The curious will find it reproduced and discussed in Mr. Johnson's Catalogue.

VI

MR. PLATT'S SOUTH ITALIAN MADONNA

A picture of large pattern and vigorous colouring (Fig. 22) in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, at Englewood, N. J., has always made on me the impression of being South Italian. My excuse for speaking of it here is that no South Italian picture painted between about 1480 and 1520 is entirely free from Antonellesque influence. Often enough it is hard to isolate and extract, but it is always there. And that is the case with Mr. Platt's "Madonna."

She sits in front of a parapet before a curtain, to right and left of which appears a rich landscape with fern-like trees. For one who cannot get the effect of the original, perhaps the most noticeable thing in this panel is the tendency to resolve itself into a series of three widening curves, containing the head, the shoulders and the mantle. The striving for geometrical design is of itself suggestive of Antonello and is paralleled in the Antonellesque "Madonna Enthroned" in the Cathedral at Syracuse. (Photo. Alinari 33342.) The hood re-

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sembles the one worn by Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie." The billowing draperies, too, remind me of the "Announcing Angel" in Antonello's Polyptych at Messina, as well as of Salvo d'Antonio's "Dormition of the Virgin" and Rinaldo Quartarero's "Peter and Paul" at Palermo. Finally the luxuriance and featheriness of the landscape are to my eye distinctly Neapolitan.

By other critics, however, this picture has been ascribed to the Lombard school, and even to Boltraffio. No doubt the face has a certain likeness to Boltraffio's, and one who was determined to have the panel Lombard would find a resemblance in the draperies to Bramantino's. These I have already accounted for as Antonellesque, being ultimately, like Bramantino's, of Flemish origin, but the face, although heavier, is closer to the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" (as, for instance, in the Murano Altarpiece) than to the type of any other Lombard, while, curiously enough, neither the draperies nor the landscape are unlike his. The Child, on the other hand, sturdy in frame, with His arms crossed over His chest, is unlike any pure Lombard Child that I can recall, but would be quite at home in Venice or the Romagna.[1]

We may compromise and conclude that the author of Mr. Platt's picture was a painter of Antonellesque derivation, who in Venice came under the influence of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino" (Giovanni Antonio da Lodi), and, to make good measure, we may add that he may have been acquainted with Solario as well.[2]

[1] He recurs in the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who was more than half Venetian and strongly influenced by Antonello and Alvise Vivarini.

[2] Since these paragraphs were first printed I came across a piece of evi-

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VII

ANTONIO SOLARIO

There happens to be a painter whose training was the exact opposite of the one I have imagined for the author of Mr. Platt's "Madonna." Instead of beginning in the South and ending in Venice, Antonio Solario began at Venice and ended in the South. He is but an asteroid recently presented to view. When this little luminary first was noticed, the spectroscope—if one may continue the astronomical metaphor—seemed to show the same rays as Andrea Solario, and I was inclined to believe that they were one and the same. But more and more works by this hand kept appearing, and finally Ettore Modigliani's study, published in the *Bollettino d'Arte* for December, 1907, convincingly showed that we had to do with a personality distinct from Andrea's. We could even trace his wanderings, from Venice to the March of Ancona, and thence to Naples, where he was the painter in chief of the fascinating, if unequal, series of frescoes in the cloister of SS. Severino e Sosio. His end is unknown.

In the Leuchtenberg "Madonna" acquired by Mr. Wertheimer, sold to the late Mr. Salting, and now in the National Gallery, and in the even earlier "Nativity" ceded by Dr. J. P. Richter to Herr Fritz von Gans of Frankfort, Antonio is so close to the Venetian phase of

dence to strengthen and indeed to clench my argument. It is that the author, while designing the work, had Carpaccio's Berlin Madonna in mind. The action is nearly identical and the resemblance extends even to dress. He may thus have been Salvo d'Antonio himself but at all events a Carpacciesque from South Italy or Sicily.

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his famous namesake, Andrea, that one might without disgrace, seeing the still fragmentary state of our knowledge, have failed to conclude that they were separate personalities. But other works, even apart from the consideration that they are signed, reveal the same artist drawing farther and farther away from Andrea, and show an increasingly Venetian character, while Andrea himself, as we know, grew more and more Lombard. In his travels South, Antonio—an artist, by the way, inferior to Andrea, of far more uncertain style and feebler attainments—picked up Romagnol and Umbrian traits, while at Naples a certain Southern lethargy invaded his never too alert spirit. There, too, he reverted to those Antonellesque influences from which his beginnings were not free, whether they were drawn from direct study of the great Sicilian himself, or from contact with the two Venetianized Lombards, Andrea Solario and the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who surely inspired and perhaps accomplished his initiation. For these reasons he comes into our present survey.

The collection of Mr. Walters contains an important work of his (Fig. 23). It is an oblong panel wherein may be seen the Holy Child sitting on an inlaid casket resting on a pedestal, while He plays with a bird. His Mother supports Him, and a lady presents the infant Baptist, who clutches at His thigh. On the left is an elderly man represented as a pilgrim. The background consists of a curtain to left and a landscape to right. The woman and man are probably portraits. Not only are they individualized enough to be real likenesses, but the painter, although giving them in the composition

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Fig. 23. ANTONIO SOLARIO: MADONNA AND SAINTS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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the importance of saints, has left them without haloes.

One is hardly called upon to demonstrate that this panel is by Antonio Solario, for it is obvious to those who are acquainted with the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," now in the National Gallery, and the somewhat later one in the Naples Museum. With all the differences, the types retain the same Venetian features, and the landscape the same Lombard character. The Child is taken over with as little change as the subject will permit from Bellini's "Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple." These affinities, or borrowings, are what we expect from Antonio. The bird, too, attached to a string, occurs in the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," and is derived from a Bellinesque picture of which we have several variants. This picture of ours is, however, later than that, and than the Naples one, both of which we may confidently place before Antonio's sojourn in the Marches. Mr. Walters' painting is not only more largely but much more carelessly handled, as is the case with Antonio's frescoes at Naples, certainly his latest works. It can, moreover, be dated with fair proximity as toward 1513.

A brief paragraph must be devoted to this question of dates, as Antonio's chronology has not yet been carefully looked into, and without a proper chronology we can have no trustworthy connoisseurship and no history worth the name.

There exists in the Ambrosiana at Milan a signed work by Antonio, dated 1508, which is so obviously an imitation of his namesake, Andrea,[1] that one may assume

[1] Louvre, No. 1533.

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a renewed contact between them. And, as Antonio was in the Marches till 1506, and Andrea, to our knowledge, never went there, we may infer that they met at Milan. This Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist on a Charger" differs, quality apart, in one striking respect from Andrea's. It is more bejeweled, as one might expect from an artist subjected to provincial and Southern taste.[1] Now we discover a similar jeweled charger in a picture in the Doria Gallery representing "Salome" which is now universally accepted as Antonio Solario's, for this and other obvious reasons the most determining of which is that a companion panel representing a Muse in the same collection is signed and dated 1511. (Photo. Anderson 5412 and 5413.) I used to ascribe this "Salome" to Michele da Verona, and the resemblance of her face to that painter's type is manifest. I am tempted to infer that, after such intimate contact with Andrea Solario as is displayed in the Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist," Antonio stopped for a while at Verona, where, sensitive as he was to kindred inspiration, he did actually fall under the influence of Michele. I venture to believe that this suggestion will turn out fruitful for students who would pursue the subject further in Naples.[2]

[1] Antonio's predilection for jewelry and jeweled ornament would be explained if he started as a jeweler. On page 38 of the tenth number of the *Bollettino d'Arte* for 1907 was announced the purchase of a "Madonna" supposed to be by Antonio Solario, and signed "Hoc opus fecit Antonius Aurifex de Venetiis." But as this picture, never exhibited and never published, has mysteriously disappeared, one is led to wonder whether, like a certain picture belonging to the late Sir Hugh Lane supposed to bear the earliest signature of B. Vivarini, it was not of recent manufacture?

[2] Kindred works by Antonio under the influence of Michele da Verona, which I used to ascribe to Michele himself, are the two panels in the National

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Here we must return to the question of chronology, and argue that if the Doria "Salome" dates from 1511, the Walters picture, which resembles it significantly, but is more loosely and even sloppily handled, must have been painted at least a year or two later, say in 1513. Perhaps it was a commission Antonio picked up on his way southward, possibly when again in the Marches, or conceivably when already in Naples.

VIII

FILIPPO MAZZOLA

Antonello da Messina spent less than a year in Venice during his visit of 1475–6, but Venetian painting was never the same again. His pervasive influence, however, was naturally more visible and appreciable in treatment and technique than in type or composition. It is, in fact, far from easy to lay one's finger on anything more than accessory in a Venetian painting, which, when reproduced in black and white, will instantly recall Antonello. Where there is anything definite to suggest him, it is apt to be in the work of men like Alvise Vivarini or Cima, whose interest and importance are far from being measured by the fact of this imitation. Even among the parasitic painters, it turns out, curiously enough, to be none of the artists who could have known Antonello in Venice, but two painters from Parma, who probably knew only his pictures, whose chief interest

Gallery (Nos. 646 and 647), representing "St. Catherine" and "St. Ursula." Their attribution as "Umbrian School" is no doubt a witness to the fact that they come from Central Italy, and would go to prove that Antonio painted them in the Marches after a visit North.

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lies in their intimate dependence upon the Southern master. These painters were Filippo Mazzola, of whom I must speak at some length, and Cristoforo Caselli, or Temperelli.

Mazzola, in his portraits, where he appears at his best, approaches Antonello more closely than any other except Alvise Vivarini of the latter's deliberate imitators. In his other pictures, conspicuously in his Agram "St. Sebastian" and his Budapest "St. Christopher," Mazzola leans upon the Sicilian master, but in his Madonnas and religious figures in general this influence gets more diffused. As Mazzola was born toward 1460 and Antonello never returned to Northern Italy after 1476, and as, moreover, the Sicilian influence in his works increases rather than diminishes till the end of his life, in 1505, it is reasonable to assume that he knew Antonello's works, though not their author, and that, on repeated visits to Venice, he may have become acquainted with Antonio and Piero de Saliba, and possibly with Jacopo, the son of Antonello.

It is to be regretted that none of Mazzola's most strikingly Antonellesque works, his portraits, are at hand for the present discussion. Although it is a temptation to ascribe to him every tolerable Venetian portrait even vaguely recalling Antonello, we must resist it in the case of the only one of this description that falls within our scope, the pleasant head of an adolescent, belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt (reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1911, p.148). As far as I know, there is no other portrait in our collections that could be ascribed to Mazzola.

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Fig. 24. FILIPPO MAZZOLA: MADONNA WITH ST. JEROME AND ST. FRANCIS.

Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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But in "Art in America" (1916 p. 112 *et seq.*) Prof. Mather publishes the likeness of a lady belonging to Mr. George Breck, and suggests on the strength of a half defaced signature that it may be by Filippo Mazzola. While the pattern is distinctly Florentine and perhaps already Raphaelesque, the singularly bad drawing of the bust, the folds of the curtain and the characteristically Lombard castle in the background incline me to believe, even though I am not acquainted with the original, that this work is Emilian; but it surely is too feeble and perhaps too late for Filippo himself, and should the reading of the inscriptions be confirmed as "Mazzolus" it may have been inscribed by one of his relations, who also were painters, rather than by himself. I must, by the way, protest against identifying this young woman with Isabella d'Este.

We have, on the other hand, a religious composition which is by him. It is an oblong one belonging to Mr. Walters (Fig. 24) wherein we see the Madonna seated between St. Jerome and a Franciscan monk, holding the Child, who blesses with His right hand and clutches a bird in His left. The arrangement of the heads is conspicuously Bellinesque, and so is the St. Jerome as a type. The Virgin has perhaps an indefinable Antonellesque element in her face, although the oval and the expression have a certain tincture of the Morones of Verona, which, indeed, is visible in the head of the Franciscan as well. This scarcely comes as a surprise, for these same influences, along with that of the Vicentine Montagna, may be traced elsewhere in Mazzola.

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The attribution of this "Madonna and Saints" to Mazzola is inevitable if one has clearly in mind his National Gallery picture (No. 1416), which so closely resembles it in general effect, or his Berlin Altarpiece of 1502, the nearest of all in details of types, draperies and action, with a Child that is almost identical. The study of his other works, whether at Parma or Corte Maggiore or Naples, brings confirmatory evidence. I am inclined to believe that we may date it soon after 1502.

IX

CRISTOFORO DA PARMA

It is with some hesitation that I venture to introduce yet another picture in the Walters Collection as a possible work by Mazzola's fellow-townsman, Cristoforo Caselli, who was moulded under the same Veneto-Sicilian influences. If I am mistaken, no great harm will be done. I record merely an impression for which I can offer no sort of proof.

The picture in question represents the "Ecce Homo" (Fig. 25). The Saviour is seen down to the waist, holding an elaborately jewelled cross in His pierced right hand, while His left is held up appealingly. The thorn-crowned, richly curled head looks up, showing far too much of the whites of the eyes. Behind extends a beautiful landscape, with the domes and towers of a town by a stream, and distant marble mountains.

The sentimental look slightly excuses the silliness of the old label which reads "Bolognese School, 17th Century." One need not be a clerk to see that, despite sen-

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FIG. 25. CRISTOFORO CASELLI (?): ECCE HOMO.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 26. ANTONELLO DA SERRAVALLE: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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timentality, the conception is far closer to 1500 than to 1600, and that the tightness of the drawing and of the treatment is distinctly in the Quattrocento tradition. My reasons for guessing it to be by Cristoforo Caselli are too vague and uncertain to be given. Something in the whole conception, the folds of the sash, the richly jewelled cross and clasp, are not my reasons but my excuses for jumping to such a conclusion. If by him —and I trust the guess may prove well founded—he may have painted it as late as 1510.

X

ANTONIO DA SERRAVALLE

In closing this chapter, I must mention yet another panel in the Walters Collection (Fig. 26). It is a very poor thing indeed, but not without a certain suggestion of grandeur. It represents the Madonna and happens to be inscribed "Antonellus Pinxit."

Needless to say this Antonellus is not the one of Messina. He is but a tenth-rate painter, happily rare, by whom we know one and only one other signed work, a fresco at Serravalle in the Friuli, dated 1485. Mr. Walters' picture makes a slight advance upon that one, and may be a few years later. Our profit in making this painter's acquaintance is to recognize him if we find him masquerading under another name. Our excuse for bringing him in here, apart from convenience, is that parochial pride and parochial presumption at one time maintained that he was identical with the great Sicilian. The panel before us offers merely a distorted reflex of the style of the Vivarini.

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CHAPTER III

GIOVANNI BELLINI

AFTER plodding over hot stubble or cold tundra, as we did through much of the last chapter, it will be a relief and a joy to encounter the splendours of the earth once more. For which reason I shall not linger over such vestiges of Squarcionesque painting in its cruder phases as we may discover in America, but hasten to Mantegna, the genius of the Paduan School. His influence on the Bellini was enormous: to understand their evolution, while ignoring him, is impossible. Happily our collections include two of his works, one belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston, and the other in the Altman Bequest to the Metropolitan Museum. These we shall proceed to study. They will by no means suffice to give an adequate idea of his career or his quality. Europe alone can give that. But at least they will give no false idea of the artist.

I

MANTEGNA; MRS. GARDNER'S "SACRA CONVERSAZIONE"

The earlier of the two is a smallish panel (Fig. 27) in Mrs. Gardner's Collection, dating from Mantegna's later middle years, say from towards 1485. It is a

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Fig. 27. MANTEGNA: SACRA CONVERSAZIONE.
Collection of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, Boston.

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singular, elaborate, rather puzzling work, highly finished—over finished, even—touched up in the high lights with silver, executed for his Gonzaga patrons. One is tempted to fancy that the painter contrived it deliberately as an epitome of his entire career up to that point; and doubtless it pleased them, for it remained with them until it was acquired by that exquisite dilettante, Charles I. Yet if this unusual work has a fault, it is just that with all the qualities of a most admirable manual it has something of its dryness.

On a level space, overshadowed by two cliffs which frame in a hillside with a town nestling under the sky line, the Blessed Virgin is seen in the midst of six other holy women, all sitting low or on the ground. The Holy Child, resembling an infant Apollo, stands against His Mother's right knee and addresses Himself to the Infant Baptist. The elderly woman next to Our Lady is probably St. Elizabeth, but I have no clue to the identity of the others, or to their function in the symbolical or allegorical economy of the picture. Nor is it our concern. It can not be too firmly maintained that a work of art can pretend, as a work of art, to no meaning, broadly human or narrowly artistic, beyond what is spontaneously suggested to the cultivated mind. Theologians and gossips innumerable may attach any meaning they please to the parts or the whole of a picture. Professors Peano and Forti have taken our dear familiar old alphabet and numerals and attached all sorts of harrowing significations to them, intended only for students of symbolic logic. We who use the alphabet and numerals for homely human purposes are not

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called upon to be conversant with all possible abuses to which they may be subjected, and no more is it our business as humanists, æstheticians or dilettanti, to know what theological subtleties, what scholastic symbols, or what neomystico-nonsensical cobwebs may be made to adhere to a picture. In the one before us it is enough to see what Venetian art lovers, at the highest moment of Venetian art, called a *"Sacra Conversazione,"* that is to say, a social gathering of holy persons. These ladies have come together to adore, to worship, to meditate and to pray. To my recollection, this is the first instance of a motive destined to acquire so wide a vogue a generation or two later. Did Mantegna mean to invent a new type or composition? If he did, he surely would have followed it up with others, which he failed to do. It is possible that in a court, whose first lady, when Mantegna arrived there, was a Brandenburg Princess, such a favourite subject of German art as "Die Heilige Sippe"—the Holy Family in the most comprehensive sense—was known and liked, and that Andrea took his cue from a German painting of this theme, simplifying and classicizing it according to the dictates of his genius. Quite likely, too, he was ordered to include just so many figures and so many episodes in the panel. On no other ground can one understand the Christopher crossing the stream, the George fighting the dragon, and the Jerome beating his breast, which we descry in the middle distance. They are treated conventionally and perfunctorily, not at all as a genius like Mantegna would have dealt with them had they been of his own choosing and of interest to him.

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Mantegna's art meets our eye from its first beginning, like Minerva, all armed. In a duration of nearly sixty years it suffered singularly little change, so little in form, contour or even type, that it requires careful and cautious scrutiny to perceive its evolution, although there was, it is true, a development in colour to warmer and warmer, ending rather hot. Mrs. Gardner's panel, coming, as we shall see presently, toward the end of his middle years, contains elements harking back to the beginnings and pointing forward to the end of the artist's career, as we shall perceive for ourselves if we attempt to settle the date of this *"Sacra Conversazione."*

The landscape gives us no too precise indication of time. It reminds one, it is true, of no works preceding the Mantuan period, but, on the other hand, it might have been painted at almost any time during Mantegna's middle years. It recalls at once the frescoes in the Camera degli Sposi and the Uffizi Triptych, but even more closely the Uffizi "Madonna of the Quarries" and the Copenhagen *"Pietà."* The "Madonna of the Quarries" is recalled again by the hands and the folds and even the pose of the Virgin here, but the oval and expression of her face are singularly like the "Madonna with Cherubs" of the Brera. The curls of the female Saint looking down upon the Infant Baptist are found in Mantegna's works from the Verona Polyptych to nearly the end of his career, but her elegance and her draperies point forward to his "Parnassus" and other late works. The other Saints recall the "Madonna" in the Simon Collection at Berlin and the women in the Hampton

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Court "Triumphs." The crumpled sharp folds, as in the Verona "Madonna," mark the beginning of his later years. The evidence, intelligently weighed, thus points to the end of Mantegna's middle period. One of the pictures with which Mrs. Gardner's has most in common is the Brera "Madonna with Cherubs," and there is good reason for assuming that this is the panel referred to in a document as having been painted in 1485. We shall not be very far out if we assign something like this date to the painting at Fenway Court.

I leave the picture with a feeling that I should like to say a good deal more about it, but not before it had been submitted to a scrupulously honest and adequately competent cleaning away of perhaps quite recent restoration. What remained would necessarily be convincing, and might cease to be so perplexing.

II

THE ALTMAN "HOLY FAMILY"

There is nothing perplexing about the Altman canvas (Fig. 28). It is what it is; not at all one of Mantegna's greatest achievements, but a typical work of his last few years, when his hand was beginning to fail slightly and his colour to grow hot. In other respects he is seen as his Roman, pagan, imperial self.

The picture in question represents the Empress of Heaven seated a little sideways against an arbor of golden fruit, while the Infant clings to her. On one side a male bust of Roman aspect represents St. Joseph, and on the other, a most fascinating, even alarming, fe-

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Fig. 28. MANTEGNA: THE HOLY FAMILY.
Altman Bequest, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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male face, answering better to the visual images evoked by Catullus than by the Gospels, was perhaps intended by Mantegna for the Magdalen.

The drawing of the Child's head is a little out, the contour of His shoulder rather functionless, the hands are a trifle wooden. These defects are due to the slackness of old age. Nevertheless the work, as a whole, could scarcely be more characteristic. Its feeling we have already indicated. Its colour has the typically warm—over-warm—tone of his last years. Its drawing, although rather slack, is no less quintessentially his.

Maturer, more Cinquecento in amplitude than any other "Holy Family" of Mantegna's, it yet clings close to precedents, and in details varies but slightly from similar works of his last fifteen years. Thus, as composition, it is closest of all to the Verona "Holy Family," one of the earlier of his latest paintings. The *motif* of the cushion takes us back to a much earlier work still, the "Madonna with two Saints" of the André Collection. On the other hand, the Virgin in the Altman canvas goes with his last work of all, the Northampton "Adoration" [1] and the "Holy Family" in the Mantegna Chapel at Mantua, only that in our picture she is at once haughty and disconsolate.

Thus, here as everywhere, Mantegna remains true to a style formed in his youth which suffered but little alteration. There are few works, however, in which change is more visible than here. It was, in the measure

[1] A studio copy of this masterpiece may be seen at Mr. J. G. Johnson's in Philadelphia.

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that it was progressive, change above all to a warmer colouring and to a more pagan, more imperially Roman vision of the world.

III

GIOVANNI BELLINI; NEW THEORY OF HIS DEVELOPMENT

No two artists near enough to each other in their environment to be brothers-in-law were so separated in their art as Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. Where the former was all dogma, the other was all faith; where the one worked on a programme, the other relied on spontaneity; where the Paduan had a schematic outline that the figure had to fill, the Venetian had a contour that was the vibrating exteriorization of an indwelling energy. Mantegna was professionally intellectual; Bellini may never have harboured an abstract thought. The Paduan was a bigoted Roman, the Venetian was not deliberately and intentionally of any time or place. Hence the growth of the former was necessarily limited, while that of the latter never stopped. The history of Art knows almost no great master whose end was so close to his beginning as Mantegna's, or so far away as Bellini's. For fifty years Giovanni Bellini led Venetian painting from victory to victory. He found it crawling out of its Byzantine shell, threatened by petrifaction from the drip of pedagogic precept, and left it in the hands of Giorgione and Titian, an art more completely humanized than any that the Western world had known since the decline of Greco-Roman culture.

The two works by Mantegna that we can see without

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crossing the Atlantic suffice to give a fairly adequate idea of his character and even of his career. The nine autograph paintings by Bellini, on the other hand, even when supplemented by several important studio pictures, do not begin to represent his manifold phases or convey an adequate sense of his quality.

Three of the nine autograph works belong to Bellini's first period. I wrote "earlier years," and then cancelled and replaced the words with "first period," because it fringes on the absurd to designate pictures painted toward the fortieth year of an artist's life as youthful achievements. For it is probable that Mr. J. G. Johnson's panel was painted toward 1470. Nevertheless this "Madonna" is so tentative, so immature in some respects, that serious and able students have regarded it as the earliest of all Bellini's Madonnas that have come down to us.

The truth is that the first part of Giambellino's career is a blank. All the extant works which may plausibly be placed before 1470 could easily have been painted after 1465, and in point of style they resemble each other sufficiently to admit of being thus crowded together. Even if we grant that some of these panels, the Correr "Crucifixion," for instance, were done earlier, they are at once too few to stand for twenty years of activity, even allowing for normal losses through time and chance, and too close to each other to be, if spread over so long a time, more than a confession of slow and feeble development. For myself, I find it easier, in view of what we know of his rate of advance during his middle and later periods—a time when, as a rule, growth is apt

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to slow down and stop—to believe that not many years elapsed between any of the paintings of this group, than to assume that Giovanni Bellini was something of a dullard in his early life.

It certainly is not easy to account for his youth, yet a possible clue may hide in the fact that Gentile Bellini's earlier career is at least as hard to explain. His first dated work, the "Lorenzo Giustiniani" of 1465, is still clumsy and even uncouth, despite extraordinary observation and vigorous line, and the Mond "Madonna," painted probably when Gentile was about fifty years of age, is chiefly interesting for its fidelity to his father's teaching. It would seem likely, therefore, that the delayed maturity of both brothers, as well as the exceeding scarcity of their earlier works, were in each case due to the same cause, namely that *they had had no independent career till they were middle-aged men, because they remained until then in their father's employ as his assistants.* As late as 1460 both were certainly with Jacopo, for in that year all three signed the now lost altarpiece for the Gattamelata Chapel at Padua. It was after this that the sons started out for themselves, and it really would seem as if only then did they cut themselves loose from their father and begin to develop their own artistic personalities. Such an hypothesis, further, might help to account for the curious borrowings, sometimes quite petty, from Mantegna, at the very moment when Giovanni Bellini was creating such sublime masterpieces as the Brera *"Pietà."* It looks as if he had already developed a great intensity of feeling and an adequate mastery over his instruments,

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but—somewhat like Cézanne so recently—still lacked those current fashionable stage-properties of the new painting which perhaps his father, Jacopo, true to his own transitional style and all its charm, severely avoided.

IV

THE DAVIS MADONNA

The "Madonna" in the collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis (Frontispiece) which I believe to be the earliest of Giovanni Bellini's Madonnas now extant, is also one of the best. One may go further and say that she is the best of the first period. She rises like a pyramid, filling nearly the entire arch formed by the panel, thus securing an effect of monumental grandeur worthy of the invincible concept of a superhuman Great Mother, while, at the same time, she adores her own Child with a watchful tenderness that communicates a sweet sense of home-like humanity. The slight deviation from frontality, the gentle inclination of the head, in such a massive figure, are principal factors in the impression. The featureless landscape, with its simple arabesque of light and shade under the open sky, furnishes the visual equivalent of a bass accompaniment to a solemn melody. The quiet pearly colour, singularly free from oppositions and contrasts, enriches and harmonizes the whole.

It is a work worthy of the Brera *"Pietà,"* than which there is perhaps nothing more sublime in art. It has the same greatness of soul and beauty of substance. There is a continuity in mood and mode between these

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two masterpieces which makes it probable that they were conceived almost simultaneously and executed successively, the "Madonna" first, the *"Pietà"* afterwards. How strikingly alike, for instance, is the sweep of the folds in both paintings, combining, as it does, flow and rhythm, and with the most magnifying results.

The Davis "Madonna" is as free from Mantegna's influence as the *"Pietà"* itself. There is no trace of it, save perhaps in the ruins on the right. On the contrary, the whole pattern, the frontal Madonna adoring the Child fast asleep—is traditionally Venetian, and not of infrequent occurrence in the early works of the Vivarini and their kin. The Child is rather ugly and sprawling, and not properly relaxed, but is modelled with praiseworthy contour instead of facile chiaroscuro —and all so sincerely!

It is a work which seems to have impressed contemporaries and followers, for I recall several versions of it, or possibly of variants, as, for instance, Quirizio da Murano's in the Venice Academy, another belonging to Mr. Henry White Cannon at Fiesole, which I would ascribe to Andrea da Murano, and still another in the Sacristy of the Redentore at Venice, which I would, more tentatively, ascribe to the same author.

Finally, I may be permitted to record that when I first knew this masterpiece, it passed for an Alvise Vivarini, and that it, along with the Bagatti "S. Giustina" at Milan, also passing for a work of Alvise, was chiefly responsible for the very high estimate I formed, half unconsciously, of this painter and his place in Venice. Dr. J. P. Richter, who then owned the pic-

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ture, first recognized that it was by Bellini, and his attribution has long since found general acceptance. The "S. Giustina" I myself attempted to restore to Bellini a couple of years ago (*Gazette des Beaux Arts;* June, 1913, and *Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 3d series).

V

THE JOHNSON MADONNA

It would seem as if it were only after painting this Madonna and the even greater Brera *"Pietà"* [1] that Giovanni Bellini fell under the spell of Mantegna. Of course he must have known him and his art years and years before, for they had been brothers-in-law since 1453. But if Giovanni remained with his father till well after '60, it is likely that Jacopo, having nothing to say to the too definite, too rigid, too determined style of his overbearing son-in-law, prevented his sons from following it. Then when Giovanni became his own master, his instinctive eagerness to be in the foremost ranks of his close contemporaries drew him into the orbit of Mantegna. And there he remained for ten or perhaps fifteen years—till towards 1480—but happily quite unaffected by it as to essentials, keeping his soul his own, his form unschematized, his touch uncontaminated. Mantegna was for him not so much a dynamic influence as a purveyor of novelties. And that is the natural,

[1] Most of the pictures referred to in this chapter are reproduced in Adolfo Venturi's "Storia dell' Arte Italiana," Vol. VII, Parts III and IV. The reproductions of themselves would render this work indispensable to students. Dr. Gronau's monograph on the Bellini is equally indispensable.

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perhaps inevitable relation between conscious and less conscious genius.

So Giovanni Bellini borrowed not a little from Mantegna, turning it to his own purposes—using episodes and figures with only slight changes, and entire arrangements with all the alterations required to render them suitable to his own character.

Among the earliest of Giovanni's paintings to betray contact with Mantegna are Mr. Philip Lehman's "Madonna with the Festoon" and Mr. Johnson's signed "Madonna." We shall first study Mr. Johnson's (Fig. 29), although slightly later if anything, because we can secure more facts for determining its date. It is an appealing and sensitive creation, but in its present condition this ghost of a picture seems a little meagre and even scraggly. Less monumental than the Davis panel, less convincing than the Lehman one, it lacks the breadth of the somewhat later Trivulzio "Virgin and Child."

Mr. Johnson's "Madonna" is seen from the waist up supporting the Child between her hands. He stands on a parapet on which lies a fruit like a quince. He wears a tunic open at the sides, and has very little hair on His head. His attitude, with His finger in His mouth and something like a squirm of His body, is unexplained. It would almost seem as if, like a shy baby, He were turning away from a stranger. The Blessed Virgin, on the contrary, although rather dolorous and vague now, may have had a limpid but not simpletonish countenance in her time. The silhouette of her all-enfolding mantle is impressive, and the prominence

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Fig. 29. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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of the hands, unfortunately too spidery, is singular, perhaps novel. The opinion may be hazarded that few artists made so much of hands as Bellini did. My first impression is that even among Italians no other insisted more on making them *dramatis personæ*. They are, in representations of the Madonna especially, scarcely less important for the expression, and perhaps even more important for the design, than the face. Their play was evidently a matter of the greatest solicitude, and their relation to the pose and action of the Holy Child determined the entire composition. To Mr. Johnson's "Madonna," now before us, all this applies so well that it is easier to think the head away than the hands. It is they that determine the movement of the arms, and thus the whole pattern. At the same time they vie in eloquence with the face itself. To few pictures more than to this could be better applied the title of "Madonna of the Hands."

Bellini's father, Jacopo, did not neglect the hands, and Donatello made as much of them as anyone. Their example may have sufficed, but I suspect that Giovanni got his stimulus not from them directly but from their follower, Mantegna, who in his earlier life and middle years rivalled Donatello himself in the attention he gave to hands. If that be so, it was by far the greatest debt that Giambellino owed to his brother-in-law. It is even possible that Mr. Johnson's panel and its sister works, the Lehman and Trivulzio "Madonnas," were inspired by pictures of Andrea Mantegna now lost, like the one, for instance, of which we have two free copies, one in the Berlin Museum (No. 27), and an-

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other far better version in the former Butler Collection. But while this suggestion must be left to its chances, Mr. Johnson's painting bears witness to Giovanni's pettier borrowings from Andrea in a way that cannot be disputed. It will be remembered that we found the action and the expression of the Child unexplained. Nothing certainly in the picture before us accounts for His peevish squirm. It is intelligible enough in Mantegna's original, the standing child frightened by the sight of the High Priest's knife and nestling up against his mother's knees, in the "Circumcision" of the Uffizi Triptych (Fig. 30). Bellini reversed the silhouette and, naturally, adapted it in other respects to his needs, but changed the motive as little as possible.

It will be admitted that a picture containing an imitation of another must be of later date than that other. It would follow that if we knew when Mantegna painted the Triptych now in the Uffizi we could tell when at earliest Giambellino designed the Johnson panel. Its date is a question of importance, for, as we have seen, it has been supposed to be a labour of his earliest years, while I feel called upon to assign it to a time when its author was perhaps approaching his fortieth year.

Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of Mantegna's Uffizi Triptych. There is a fair probability, however, that it is the work referred to in April, 1464, as just finished. Internal evidence is hard to obtain because of the relative fixity of Mantegna's style. I note that in my "North Italian Painters," published

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Fig. 30. MANTEGNA: THE CIRCUMCISION.
Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

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in 1907, I placed it after 1470. Since then, further research in connection with contemporary Venetian painting has inclined me to favour an earlier date for some of his works, including the Triptych, and I should now find no difficulty in conceding that it was painted in 1464. To a still earlier date no one would think of assigning it.

Mr. Johnson's Bellini would then necessarily be no earlier than the same date, that is to say 1464, when Giovanni Bellini was thirty-three or thirty-four years old. But I believe, in fact, that we have reasons for assuming that it was painted several years later. In our endeavour to justify this later dating, which, within the field of our interests, is of serious importance, we must have recourse to a study of minutiæ which, if no longer subject to the contemptuous hilarity of the dilettante, is still boring to ourselves.

To begin with, the pattern as a whole, based, as it is, upon the extension of the arm to one side, connects Mr. Johnson's picture with the next group of Bellini's Madonnas, the earliest of which is Dr. Frizzoni's at Milan, and the most typical, the one in the Verona Gallery. As I hope to demonstrate elsewhere, they range in point of time from after 1470 to about 1476. Mr. Johnson's was perhaps originally nearer to the Frizzoni or Verona "Madonna." What remains of her nose recalls St. Dominic's in the Correr "Trinity," a studio work painted in 1471,[1] or the nose of the Baptist

[1] See my "Quatre Triptyches Bellinesques à Venise" in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for September, 1913, where most of the panels are reproduced, as well as Study and Criticism of Italian Art, 3d series.

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now in the Venice Academy but of the same series. The nearest parallel to her rather spidery hands may be found in those of St. Joseph in a "Nativity" at the Venice Academy—a picture, once more, of the same series. The Child was the prototype of the imps holding shields in a neglected but delightful picture of a "Triumphal Arch" (Fig. 31) commemorating the principate of Doge Tron (Venice Academy, No. 53). As his reign began in 1471, this panel painted in Bellini's studio cannot be earlier, and if the children are so reminiscent of the one in the Johnson picture, we may safely assume that no great interval could have intervened between the two works. It would be easy to adduce further points of close resemblance in Mantegna, as, for instance, in his Andrè or in his somewhat later Bergamo "Madonna," but as their chronology is disputable, I will end this tedious paragraph with a reference to two dated works painted in Venice in 1469 and 1471. The earlier one is a Bellinesque "Saviour Enthroned between Sts. Augustine and Francis" (Venice Academy, No. 614, Photo. Naya 182). Here the pleating of the tunic under the throat of the Saviour is of the kind in our "Madonna," but of slightly simpler and earlier fashion, nearer, in fact, to the Davis "Madonna." The work of 1471 was designed by Bartolommeo Vivarini and painted with the aid of assistants (Rome, Colonna Palace, Photo. Anderson 4596). It is singularly Bellinesque, and looks like a close imitation of an original of the time by Giovanni. The resemblances to our "Madonna" are manifold, in

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Fig. 31. Studio of Giovanni Bellini: Arch in Honor of Doge Tron.
Academy of Fine Arts, Venice.

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Fig. 32. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.

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big and in little, even to the pleated folds of the tunic and the garments under it.

If this kind of evidence may be allowed to count—and achæological pursuits could not exist without it—then Mr. Johnson's "Madonna" is scarcely earlier than 1470. And if we may assume that date to be fairly well established, it follows that at about forty years of age Giovanni Bellini was painting what we used to regard as his adolescent efforts.

VI

THE LEHMAN MADONNA

Mr. Lehman's Madonna (Fig. 32) was discovered by Count Umberto Gnoli in Prince Potenziani's Villa at Rieti, and published in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for November, 1911.[1] The reproduction in black and white left no doubt that it was one of the most incisive, most personal, and most appealing of Bellini's earlier achievements. The sight of the original was dazzling. It had a vivacity and a wealth of colour that were a revelation. A student of Bellini, expecting his rather subdued scheme of pearly greys and blues that is seldom disturbed by intrusions of brighter hues, is almost taken aback by the crash of the strong coral reds, the fresh juicy greens, the shining whites. But nevertheless the subtler and more delicate harmonies hold their own, and I can scarcely recall a note of blue more tell-

[1] The reappearance of this work was more of a delight than a surprise, for I had long been acquainted with a crude but nearly contemporary copy. It is in the collection of the Bavarian Minister at Vienna, Baron Tucher. We reproduce the original from a photograph taken for Count Gnoli.

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ing yet more exquisite than the one on the sash of the Child. For the radiance of the colours is equalled by their coolness, and transparency.

Far more than the design, does the colour scheme betray the influence of Mantegna. We are reminded of him spontaneously and irresistibly, but with this difference, that while even in his best preserved works he is relatively opaque and heavy, not to say murky and even hot, here Bellini remains as clear, as light, as fresh as he always tends to be in his first period.

And yet the design is as Mantegnesque as Bellini ever made, for if no one element in the figure is so obviously taken over as the Child in the Johnson picture, the festoon is lifted, so to speak, bodily from Mantegna. We are reminded not only in that respect of his Andrè "Madonna" [1] and of two others known only in almost contemporary copies at Berlin and in the former Butler Collection, but in every other way as well. It is indeed likely that the entire pattern of our Madonna was given by one of Mantegna's now lost, one in the style of his most beautiful painting known to us, the Berlin "Presentation of the Holy Child." That, by the way, is a masterpiece which must have profoundly impressed Giovanni Bellini, for it would seem as if he made a version of it—or at least had it made under his own eye —which is still to be seen.[2]

All in all, Mr. Lehman's panel is Bellini's most Mantegnesque work. It is the more singular that he has

[1] Reproduced as Fig. 381 in Venturi's "Storia" Vol. VII, part 3.

[2] Querini-Stampalia Palace, Venice. The version is so remarkable that I can scarcely blame Morelli for having believed that it was an original (Photo. Alinari 13621).

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taken so little of Mantegna's structure, for as a torso this Madonna's would scarcely compare with a Greek herma. We should liken it rather to something so rudimentary as the wooden idols, the *xoana* of the more primitive Greeks. It has scarcely more articulation or projection than a board, and indeed is so silhouetted as to suggest a flat back. Yet the painting is to my mind none the worse, for manifestly the artist was absorbed in his colour and his feeling, both of which he renders with supreme success. These faults, however, are among the chief reasons why I place it slightly earlier than the kindred Johnson "Madonna" already so much more supple and free, as if its author had suddenly shaken off his limitations.

The resemblances between these two works are too obvious to require pointing out, and in consequence we are dispensed from the laborious task of dating Mr. Lehman's. But, even if Mr. Johnson's "Madonna" were unknown, we should have had no difficulty in coming to the same conclusion with regard to its chronology. Clearly an early effort, it yet could not have been painted much, if at all, before 1470, and for the following reasons. In general character of drawing, design, and form it is close to the *"Pietà"* of the Doge's Palace, painted as we know in 1472. The Virgin's right hand anticipated that of the earlier Morelli "Madonna" at Bergamo, and of the Moses in the Naples "Transfiguration," works dating from toward 1480. Finally, there is a bit of outside evidence. The Child's sash, in the precise arrangements that we find here with its vertical strip of embroidery, occurs in the André

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Mantegna as well as in a Mantegnesque "Madonna" at Tresto. Now I had on internal evidence placed the André picture after its author's Uffizi Triptych, and well on the way toward a later group represented by the Mond "Holy Family." The exact year almost is given us by the Tresto "Madonna" which could not have been done before 1469, and probably was painted very soon after.[1] But the Tresto "Madonna" was inspired by some work like the André one, which must therefore already have existed in 1469 yet not before, I believe, owing to the way it anticipates later works, that Mr. Lehman's Bellini which has such close affinities with this painting would certainly not have been painted earlier.

VII

THE PLATT MADONNA

Excepting Mr. Frick's "St. Francis," none of the remaining autograph works, amounting to six, in American collections has quite the artistic value or the archæological interest of the three already discussed. The earliest of them is a "Madonna" (Fig. 33) belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, New Jersey.

She is seen down to the waist, nearly in profile to our right, wrapped in a mantle which leaves the face and throat and hands bare. She holds the Child in both her hands. He is wide awake, but she looks at Him with eyes nearly closed and an expression of calm, as if she were peacefully asleep. There is some-

[1] *Bolletino d'Arte* 1909, p. 212, where it is reproduced.

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Fig. 33. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellowes Platt, Englewood, N. J.

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thing at once soothing and mysterious in the aspect of this youthful mother silhouetted so boldly against a sky alive with clouds. The execution, on the other hand, is not only summary but rather stringy.

Mr. F. M. Perkins, who, I believe, first published this picture (*Rassegna d'Arte,* 1911, p. 147) approaches it to a "Madonna" at Verona (No. 110) which he ascribes to Bellini himself, and adds that both are in the artist's first manner. It is true that, in a general sense, the two panels belong to the same group. It is also true that, in a still more general sense, they are in Giambellino's first manner. The next of kin to Mr. Platt's "Madonna," however, is not the one at Verona referred to by Mr. Perkins, but the Blessed Virgin in the Pesaro "Coronation," and although it is, roughly speaking, in the painter's first manner, the artist himself was about forty-five years old when he painted that panel.

This results from the fact that Mr. Platt's "Madonna" could only have come about as a variant upon the Virgin in the Pesaro Altarpiece. With the cartoon for the head of that noble figure before him, it occurred to the artist to put a Child into her arms, and give her an independent existence as a "Madonna." He restricted himself to the fewest alterations in her pose—and indeed they are slight—and he made scarcely any change at all in the folds of her drapery. He painted her rapidly and with a certain not altogether praiseworthy carelessness. We discern the same faults of execution in the *predelle* to the Pesaro "Coronation," particularly in the one representing the "Conversion

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of Paul," where, by the way, the clouds have pretty much the same shape and movement.

Now the Pesaro "Coronation," with its solemn, immobile, thought-absorbed attendant Saints and its castellated landscape and poetical skies, not only closes Giambellino's "first manner" but prefaces the rest of his career, anticipating the grand altarpieces of his ripest years. By common consent a date oscillating around the year 1475 has been assigned to it. It is confirmed by an observation that has perhaps not yet been published. In the *predella* representing a young military Saint standing on a pedestal there is a background of buildings so similar to the buildings in Antonello da Messina's "St. Sebastian" now at Dresden that, apart from any question as to whether one was inspired by the other, or both directly by Mantegna, we must conclude that they belong to the same moment of architectural conception. We happen to be able to say with certainty that Antonello's panel could not have been designed before 1475.

This is, therefore, the date of Mr. Platt's "Madonna," and Giambellino, when painting her, was about forty-five years of age. It is another proof that works we used to ascribe to his first years were the offspring of his mature middle age. Thus, Dr. Frizzoni's "Madonna" is one we used to count among Giovanni's earliest. I now see many reasons why it could not have been painted before 1470, and Mr. Platt's panel makes one question whether it should not be put nearer to 1475. The reason is that the proportions of the Child are so similar in both. He is already the long-legged

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putto of the Rimini *"Pietà"* and the destroyed S. Giovanni e Paolo Altarpiece. The execution of the Frizzoni picture is altogether more accomplished, but there happens to exist a variant of this panel which until a few years ago was at Sigmaringen. In that variant the more summary execution has all the characteristics of the Platt "Madonna," even to the curious drawing of the hands. Indeed, were there question of an assistant being employed on any of these pictures, I should not hesitate to recognize the touch of the same apprentice in the Sigmaringen and Platt pictures, as well as in some of the *predelle* to the Pesaro "Coronation." Now, unless we have proof to the contrary, which we lack here, we may assume that a variant was painted not long after the original, and that no great length of time could have elapsed between the Sigmaringen version, executed, as we must conclude, toward 1475, and Dr. Frizzoni's original.

The action of the hands in Mr. Platt's "Madonna" —the Child's hand fondling the Mother's—no less than the rest of the picture, connects it with a group of works of which the most conspicuous examples are the Brera "Madonna" with the Greek inscription, the one at Verona with the Child standing (No. 77), the one at S. Maria dell' Orto at Venice (probably a studio version), and the sadly repainted one at Rovigo. Naturally, they all belong to the same period, and this period is determined by the fact that the Platt picture is a variant of the Virgin in the Pesaro "Coronation," while the Brera panel has draperies which are identical with those in the Vatican *"Pietà,"* which origi-

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nally formed part of the same work. When two characteristic examples of a group stand so close to a given masterpiece, the others necessarily cluster around it.

Finally, before we leave the Platt "Madonna," we should note that the action of the Child is similar to the attitude of the Evangelist in the Naples "Transfiguration," and that there is considerable likeness in the treatment of the loose curls on the heads of both. These observations should confirm the dating of that masterpiece, which has always been placed soon after the Pesaro "Coronation."

VIII

THE WINTHROP MADONNA

In the collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop of New York there is a "Madonna" (Fig. 34) which, though not entirely an autograph work, yet shows Bellini so nearly at his best, that we shall do well to consider it in the chronological sequence as if it were his own handiwork. As we shall see, it very nearly is his.[1]

Before a creased curtain, to either side of which appears a bit of landscape, the Blessed Virgin adores the Child, who reclines on a parapet. She is a monumental figure, grandly draped, one of Bellini's noblest types of womanhood. Few of his Madonnas have more amplitude of design, or a more convincing existence.

I take it, therefore, that she was not only conceived but very largely executed by the master himself. The

[1] First published by William Rankin in ART IN AMERICA, 1914, p. 317.

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Fig. 34. STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop, New York.

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Child, on the other hand, is treated drily and with a certain uncalled-for flatness, which appears particularly in the face. The landscape also is too dry for Bellini's own hand.

In every probability Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna" is a replica, in essentials, by Giambellino himself, of a work entirely from his own hand which has not yet come to light. The longer one studies the happily ever-increasing number of paintings which claim Bellini's authorship, the more does one realize not only how industrious he was, but what an industry he controlled. Inventive and creative though he was, the demand must soon have surpassed his ability to supply perfectly fresh designs. He was reduced to marketing repetitions, some, like the one before us, largely from his own hand, and others made by assistants. I doubt whether, when once Bellini was well started on his independent career, a picture ever left his studio without furnishing a number of replicas of various degrees of excellence. Not a few of the pictures now passing for autographs are such replicas.

As for Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna," we can treat it for all essential purposes as if it were Bellini's own. No perceptible deformation of the design has taken place.

Its next of kin must have been the Madonna in the destroyed S. Giovanni e Paolo Altarpiece, although as a pattern it is anticipated by the studio picture several years earlier in date in the Verona Gallery (No. 110). The copy now replacing the original Altarpiece allows us to infer forms as full and as substantial as in Mr.

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Winthrop's picture, and a considerable resemblance to its type and feeling. The folds of the draperies bear a likeness to those in the Crespi "Madonna." Neither this "Madonna" nor the Venetian Altarpiece is dated, but we can determine with fair precision when they were painted. The earlier, the former Crespi "Madonna," is draped as in the *predella* to the Pesaro "Coronation" representing the "Nativity." The right hand is like the hands in the Platt picture, and the Child curiously resembles the Child in that magnificent and mysterious Bellinesque work in the National Gallery where we see Doge Mocenigo at the feet of the Blessed Virgin. As this can be dated 1478, the Crespi panel must have been painted before that year and after 1475, the earliest possible date for the Platt "Madonna." The S. Giovanni e Paolo Altarpiece, on the other hand, is accepted almost universally as being of about 1480, and Mr. Winthrop's picture, when due consideration is given to the design as a whole, cannot be regarded as much earlier.[1]

It occurs to me that even the most patient student may begin to ask, "Why this insistence upon questions of date?" My excuse is that at present they are my chief interest, and the reason for it is the conviction that we shall make little progress in knowing or understanding Venetian painting in the fifteenth century until we have established its chronology on a sound basis. I am appalled when I think of the nonsense

[1] The identical Child occurs in a Bellinesque "Madonna" of somewhat later date in my own possession. The Virgin's hands in Mr. Winthrop's picture recall those in Bonsignori's "Madonna" in the Verona Gallery of 1483, a work inspired by some lost Bellini painted a year or two earlier.

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that for so many years has been written and spoken, and which continues to be written and spoken, regarding Venetian art, and the more so, as I myself have been one of the worst sinners. Little of this would have been possible to persons of intellectual probity if we had been able to say that a given picture could have been painted only in such and such a lustre. And as Giovanni Bellini was the backbone, as it were, of Venetian Quattrocento Painting, we shall ascertain its chronology only by studying his.

IX

THE HUNTINGTON MADONNA

Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna" is still of a type which is described as an "early Bellini," and so long as we bear in mind that its author was nearly fifty years of age when he painted it, all is well. With Mrs. Huntington's picture, to which we now turn, we have left the "first manner" behind us, and entered into a world where everything is softer in outline, subtler in modelling, and less severely hieratic in aspect. The painter, who hitherto has been a master of flat color, here reveals an unexpected interest in pictorial instead of merely plastic chiaroscuro. He suddenly strives for continuous effects of light and shade, which leave no dimension and no part of his design untouched, and he already succeeds in conveying a sense of that atmospheric ambience which helps to give Bellini's mature works their singular hold upon us.

Mrs. Huntington's "Madonna" (Fig. 35)—the pic-

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ture, when I last saw it, was in New York—is a three quarter figure standing between a parapet and a curtain, holding with both her hands the Child, Who presses His left hand to her throat. The Child seems to be looking out of the picture at an imaginary spectator below on the right, who half frightens Him and makes Him cling to His Mother. He is clad in a short tunic with a broad band across the waist, and she wears a much crumpled kerchief, while the mantle, which usually in Bellinis of this time covers her head, here leaves it free. On the parapet is a creased cartel with the artist's signature.

The tossing of the drapery to one side—in this case over the Virgin's left arm—connects the silhouette of this design with such "early" works as the Lehman, Crespi and Frizzoni panels, but as a whole it is closer to the earlier Mond "Madonna." As in that painting, the Child, and with Him necessarily the entire composition, is but a reversed variant of the one in Mantegna's Bergamo "Madonna" (Fig. 36), a work scarcely later than 1470. Our Lady's left hand is almost identical with the one in the earlier Morelli "Madonna" in Bergamo, and with the hand in a reversed variant of this picture in the Doges' Palace (Photo. Anderson 11618).[1] On the other hand, there is much here that points to a date later than warranted by the factors just referred to. Apart from the technique, which—as we have observed already—is distinctly more advanced than in any of the works just cited, the entire system of folds belongs to the period inaugurated by the S.

[1] More likely a copy by Bonsignori than an original.

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Fig. 35. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mrs. H. E. Huntington, New York.

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Fig. 36. MANTEGNA: MADONNA.
Bergamo Gallery.

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Giobbe Altarpiece, a more pictorial and far less linear system. The types, too, belong to the same period, the "Madonna" anticipating the Metropolitan and Salomon "Madonnas" that we shall study presently, and the Child, with His close-cropped hair, recalling the one in the S. Giobbe Altarpiece. All of these works hold together with the later Morelli and the later Mond "Madonnas," and were beyond much question painted very soon after 1480.

My reason for pointing to the earlier features in Mrs. Huntington's panel is that Prof. Venturi, who first published it (*Arte,* 1909, p. 319), places it, perhaps inadvertently, ten years later. If this "Madonna" were really "from the last decade of the Quattrocento," it would not be at all likely to show so many affinities with paintings of the eighth decade nor hark back to so relatively early a design of Mantegna's as the Bergamo "Madonna." It may be seriously questioned whether clear traces of such substantial borrowing exist in any authentic achievement of Bellini's which can be proved to belong to a date more than a few years later than 1480.

To my knowledge, this is the latest work of Giambellino's in which unmistakable and even striking evidence of Mantegna's influence is to be discovered. It is noteworthy, by the way, that just before ceasing to operate, this influence seems to have reached its height. Thus, the Berlin "Resurrection" contains details reminiscent of the Eremitani frescoes and the S. Zeno Triptych, while the "Madonna" we have just been examining must have been suggested, as we have seen, by the

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Mantegna at Bergamo. That particular pattern seems to have impressed Bellini inordinately, for we possess two versions of it from his hand; the one now in question, in his more advanced style, and the Mond "Madonna" already referred to, obviously several years earlier and contemporary with the Brera and Platt pictures. Yet this influence here abruptly ceases, and, were we to judge by Giambellino's extant works, we should have no means of knowing that their author was aware that Mantegna went on painting after 1470.

X

THE MADONNA OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

The ten years from 1480 to 1490 seem to have been the busiest, the most productive, the most fruitful of Bellini's career. The larger part of the masterpieces for which he hitherto has been renowned, belong to these years, and include such favorites as the greatest of his extant Altarpieces, the S. Giobbe one, the "Madonna with the Magdalen and St. Catherine," the "Madonna between Two Trees," and the "Madonna with SS. Paul and George," all in the Venice Academy, as well as the Frari Triptych, and the Murano "Madonna with Doge Barberigo" and the Uffizi "Allegory," not to speak of less appreciated because less well known achievements, like the *"Pietà"* of Toledo, Stuttgart and the Uffizi, and a number of "Madonnas" besides. This was not only his most productive period,

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but, despite the fact that it was the sixth decade of his life, the one during which he made the most rapid progress.

Living, as distinct from mechanical progress, is a vibrating, oscillating, prowling, exploring energy that does not dash forward in a straight line, but swerves to right and left, sometimes doubles back, at times zigzags or loops, and always looks before and after. Hence the great difficulty with regard to works executed during these busy years to say which in a given group was painted first and which next. Thus, I feel fairly certain that the "Madonna" to which we shall now give our attention was executed after the Huntington one that we have just examined and before the Salomon one that we shall discuss later, but the relation of each of these "Madonnas" and others of the same group to each other and to the central work, the S. Giobbe Altarpiece, is not so easy to determine; and although I have devoted an amount of study to it quite beyond the obvious necessities of the case, I yet am far from satisfied with the result. All one can say with any security is that the entire group belongs to the lustre between 1480 and 1485. One requires the more care and caution as the paintings in question, owing to the time of their execution in the midway of the artist's career, share traits with works of earlier years, and have much in common with those of a decade later. They are saved from being placed with the early efforts by the obvious maturity of their style, which any number of contradictory features cannot obscure; but they are, on account of this or that one characteristic,

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constantly being dated ten years later than a careful consideration of all the facts will warrant.

The "Madonna" of the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 37) was, at the time of its purchase, published by Mr. Roger Fry (Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, October, 1908). It would not be easy to point to a short article on a newly discovered picture that is more appreciative, better informed and more delightful. If I could count on everyone having access to it, I should feel exonerated from attempting to say anything about the picture myself, except from the point of view of the special interest—the question of Bellini's chronology—that I am pursuing at the present moment. Not that I disagree with Mr. Fry even on that point, for I place this panel where he does, early in the eighties of the fifteenth century. But as his paper may not be accessible, and as I have certain comparisons to make which he was not called upon to refer to, I shall speak of this picture briefly in my own way.

The Virgin, visible down to the knees, sits between a parapet and a curtain, turning to our right but looking nearly straight at us. A crumpled white hood frames in her face, and over it falls her mantle. She supports the naked Child on her left knee with both her hands, and He looks up with open-mouthed wonder, as if suddenly hearing, as Mr. Fry suggests, choirs invisible. On our left we see fields leading up to a Friulan village with the Julian Alps behind. The houses have Venetian chimneys and fixed pulleys for hauling up stores to the loft—a curiously Northern feature. On the parapet is the signature.

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Fig. 37. Giovanni Bellini: Madonna.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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The eyes of the Madonna especially, and her type as well, anticipate the Virgin in the Frari Triptych, and the Child, to a slighter degree, its baby angel musicians. The border on her mantle recalls that in the Murano Altarpiece, and the embroidery on the curtain the still later "Madonna with SS. Paul and George" in the Venice Academy. On the other hand, the drawing is far more severe than in those full-blown masterpieces of 1488 and after, the modelling is harder, more porcelain-like (as in Cima), and some features are almost archaic. The Virgin's right hand, for instance, is identical with one in the Vatican *"Pietà"* which dates back as far as 1475, and with another in the Berlin "Resurrection" which is nearly as "early." The landscape, too, has much of the character, although none of the features, of that work, remaining rather thin and somewhat timid.

A picture that looks so distinctly backward to 1475 and forward to 1488, may with some probability be placed at a moment between, say toward 1483, and, indeed, all the evidence points in the same direction. The close relation of the Metropolitan Museum "Madonna" to the Huntington one is manifest, for the types are kindred, derived no doubt, in both from the same model; the poise of the heads is the same, the crumpled folds in the hoods are similar, and the Children's left hands are identical. The date of Mrs. Huntington's picture, we agreed, must have been soon after 1480. Furthermore, the motive of the Child gazing vaguely as if in ecstasy, or looking up as if listening, is frequent in pictures which, on independent grounds, can be at-

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tributed to 1480-1485. We have Him already in the S. Giobbe Altarpiece. In the slightly later "Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen" of the Venice Academy, He tosses His head back to listen. Oddly enough, His action is slightly less expressive of listening in the other Venice Academy picture (Fig. 38), where, as Mr. Fry suggests, Bellini introduced a choir of cherubs as if in answer to a criticism that the attitude of the Child in our panel was not accounted for. In the later Morelli picture (Fig. 39), the Child's pose and expression are almost the same as in ours. Finally, in the Mond, Oldenburg and Salomon "Madonnas" the Child, although reclining, has again a vague look, as if He were listening.

It would be interesting to study how Bellini played with a motive like this, what changes of pose he introduced, and how he dealt with the hands, but it would take up too much space here, and besides I hope to find a more suitable occasion before long. Here it will be better to keep to our task. With regard to the picture in question, it is not quite exhausted. Needless to say that the "Madonnas" referred to with the motive of the Child looking up, have much else in common beside the principal theme, but this is so manifest that we need not dwell upon it. Other important works with which our "Madonna" is contemporary, are the sublime *"Pietà"* in the Cathedral of Toledo, and the ruined but noble one in the Stuttgart Gallery. The folds in our Virgin's mantle are singularly like those in her mantle in the Toledo panel, and in the Stuttgart picture the Evangelist has a hand like hers.

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Fig. 38. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Venice Academy.

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Fig. 39. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Morelli Collection, Bergamo.

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Fig. 40. STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Cook Collection, Richmond, England.

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In the Cook Collection at Richmond there is a studio version of another variant of the motive (Fig. 40). It comes nearer than any other to the "Madonna" in the Metropolitan Museum, but the Child is vaguer and much less expressive, nearer, perhaps, to the Child in the Oldenburg panel, while the play of hands is quite different. He holds the Virgin's thumb in a way that occurs in Bellini but once again, to my knowledge, and that in a much repainted "Madonna" ascribed to Pennacchi, in the anteroom to the Sacristy of the Salute in Venice, a work which, whether or not we regard it as an original, is close to the "Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen" of the Venice Academy, and therefore belongs to this group.

XI

THE SALOMON MADONNA

The group of Madonnas we have just been considering may be divided into an earlier and a later part. To the earlier belong the S. Giobbe Altarpiece, the "Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen," and the "Madonna with the Cherubs," all in the Venice Academy, while to the later belong the Mond, Oldenburg and Salomon "Madonnas." The later Morelli one stands exactly between the two sections, sharing the action of the Child with the first, but His type of face and the more ample draperies of the Virgin with the latter.

The "Madonna" belonging to Mr. William Salomon of New York (Fig. 41) I have just mentioned as the

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last of the group we have been discussing. She too, like the one in the Metropolitan Museum, is seen between a parapet and a curtain, only here she faces to our left. As there a kerchief frames in her face, but its folds are rarer and softer, and it is less covered by the mantle. Her look is gentle and meditative and undirected. The Child does not sit on her knee, but reclines in her arms and looks up vaguely as if listening, while His left hand caresses His chin. To the one side we see a castle with a river in front and mountains behind.

At Oldenburg may be seen a "Madonna" (Fig. 42) which differs in essentials but slightly from Mr. Salomon's.[1] In type as well as in the folds of her drapery she is more severe and more angular: she does not sit against a curtain but against a landscape, and the chief feature of this landscape is a massive keep in the middle distance. The Child also is much severer in type and His hair is scantier. The hands are nearly identical.

The Virgin's right hand, which, in Mr. Salomon's picture, strikes one as scarcely peculiar for its arrangement of fingers, begins to be rather singular in the Oldenburg version, and in another panel of this series, the one already mentioned as being in the Salute at Venice, the exaggeration of the thumb becomes almost grotesque. This arrangement of fingers, which first appears in the Trivulzio "Madonna," is visible in the Madonna of the S. Giobbe Altarpiece, the central masterpiece of our group, and again in a work of somewhat

[1] Reproduced, along with the Bonn "Madonna" to be mentioned presently, in the *"Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,"* New Series, XXI, p. 141.

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Fig. 41. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. William Salomon, New York.

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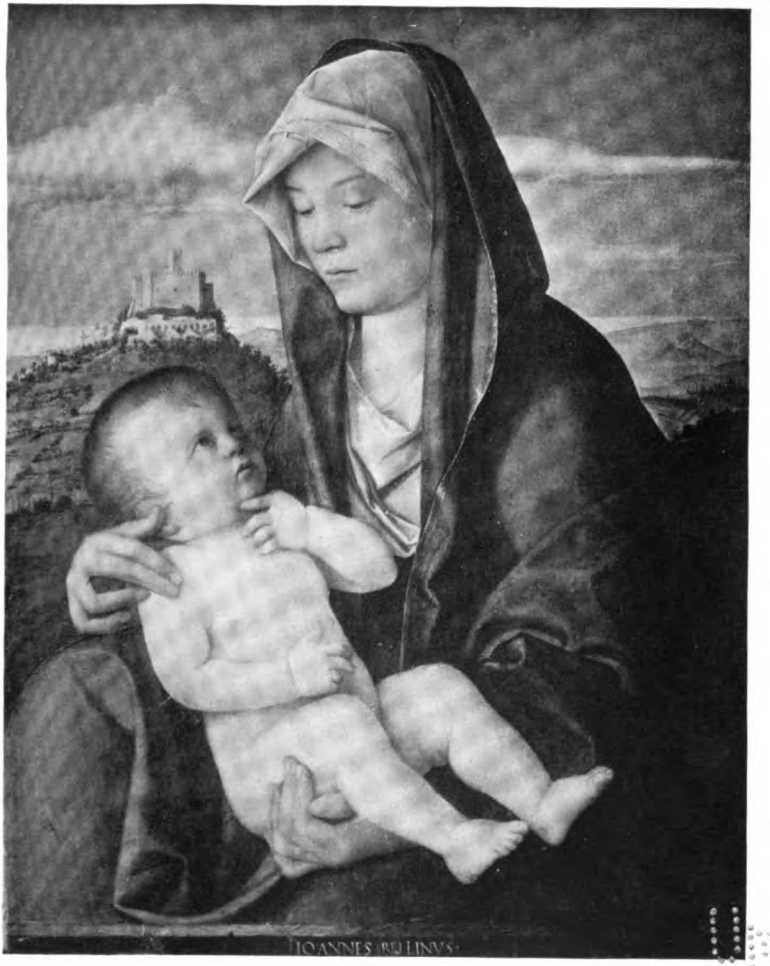

Fig. 42. Giovanni Bellini: Madonna.
Oldenburg.

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later date, the Uffizi *"Pietà,"* where, by the way, our Madonna's right hand also finds an exact parallel.

The Child in the Oldenburg picture closely resembles the one in the various versions of the "Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple," the lost original of which, like the Uffizi *"Pietà,"* must have been painted about 1485. He anticipates the Child in the Frari Triptych.

The large folds of the Virgin's mantle in both versions recall the later Morelli "Madonna" and the one in the Mond Collection. The landscape in Mr. Salomon's picture has a castle resembling the one in the Morelli panel, while the castle in that at Oldenburg is perfectly identical with the keep in the Mond picture.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Salomon "Madonna" belongs to this group. The relations which we have noted of the Oldenburg replica to somewhat later works makes it plausible that that is the last autograph version of the series, with the exception of Mr. Salomon's, which, on account of its greater suavity and roundness, is probably later still.

Before leaving Mr. Salomon's "Madonna," I must briefly mention a third version of the same motive. It is a "Madonna" in the Bonn Museum (Plate 91 of the Catalogue). The pattern of the figures is essentially the same as at Oldenburg, but the differences are interesting. The draping, particularly of the hood, the softer modelling, the sweeter expression of the Virgin, the curly hair of the Child, are all much nearer to Mr. Salomon's panel, and, being even rounder and suaver

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than in that panel, indicate a later date. The background, on the other hand, consists entirely of landscape, as in the Oldenburg picture, only that the landscape, too, is much softer, although in certain features, as, for instance, the tree on the right, harking back to the Naples "Transfiguration." The musty and woolly quality of the Bonn "Madonna" precludes its being yet another autograph work of Bellini's. It can, however, be no further away than a studio copy of such a work.

XII

THE WILLYS MADONNA

Mr. John N. Willys of Toledo, Ohio, has recently acquired a Madonna (Fig. 43) by Giovanni Bellini which we welcome the more gladly as it must have been painted two or three years later than any of those that we have studied hitherto. It thus enables us, without leaving our country, to follow Bellini up to a phase of his activity to which belong some of his noblest and most fascinating creations, those in fact which until not long ago were regarded as the most, almost as the only, representative ones. It was the period when he painted such universal favorites as the "Madonna of the Two Trees," the little "Allegories" of the Venice Academy, the Uffizi "Meditation upon the Mystery of the Tree of Life," the Murano Altarpiece, the Frari Triptych, the Venice "Madonna with Paul and George," etc., etc.

In Mr. Willys' panel we see the Blessed Virgin

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against a green curtain which partly shuts out a vitreous gray landscape. The sturdy Child playfully attempts to rouse her from the brooding melancholy into which she is sunk, but He caresses and embraces her in vain. Her mood is nearly the same as in the famous "Madonna of the Two Trees," but is heavier still, for there the Child does not struggle to distract His Mother, and does not pointedly fail. As pattern also, the two masterpieces are singularly alike, ours being in a sense but a variant of the other. The differences are not all to the disadvantage of ours, although one would not for a moment suggest a rivalry with that supreme achievement.

As that picture is dated 1487 and as Mr. Willys' is in every other respect so close to it, we can safely assume that in point of time as well they belong together. The only question is which is earlier and which later. My answer is that the American work is later, and for the following reasons. Despite the fact that the action of the Child possibly harks back to a lost Mantegna of about 1470 now represented by some such design as the Tresto "Madonna," and although anticipated in exact type and proportions by the Child of the earlier Oldenburg "Madonna" and by that of the "Presentation in the Temple," He is closest of all to the one in the Frari Triptych of 1488, and to some of the children in the Uffizi "Allegory." Furthermore, the head of the Blessed Virgin is nearer to that of the Madonna in the same triptych, and points forward to a still later one, the National Gallery "Madonna." I should place its execution, therefore, between the "Madonna with the

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Trees" and the Frari Triptych, but nearer to the last, and thus early in 1488.

A nearly contemporary copy of Mr. Willys' picture may be seen in the Vicenza Gallery, but it has lost all importance now that we know the original. Far more interesting is Antonio de Saliba's Madonna (Fig. 44) at Berlin (No. 13) and the question of its relation to ours. As is evident from the reproduction, the resemblance between the two designs comprises everything except the head of the Virgin, the action of the Child's hand, the curtain and the landscape, so that one wonders whether de Saliba had ours before him, inventing the alterations, or, as would be quite likely, had in mind a variant from Bellini's hand which he copied outright. It is hard for me, knowing Saliba's limitations, to credit him with deliberate changes when mere copying would have done as well. The different action of the Child's hand, brought about by the different direction of His Mother's look, would have been almost too much of an effort for this second-rate painter. At the same time it must be granted that there is something not strictly Bellinesque in the Madonna's face, thus proving that his picture was more than a slavish copy.

Be that as it may, one fact results from the obvious relation of this Berlin panel of de Saliba's to Mr. Willys' Bellini. It could not have been painted before its prototype which we agreed to place in 1488. We thus acquire a starting-point for determining the chronology of this modest yet ablest of the great Antonello's followers which at any moment may prove of value to our studies.

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Fig. 43. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Willys, Toledo, O.

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Fig. 44. ANTONIO DE SALIBA: MADONNA.
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

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To my knowledge there is no other work in American private or public collections executed as well as conceived by Giovanni Bellini except Mr. Frick's "St. Francis," which we shall study in the next section. It is to be hoped that the future will provide us with more of his paintings, some of which may help to illustrate the remaining thirty years of his career. Meanwhile we must take it as a mitigation that we possess several panels which were painted in his studio on his designs or even after his autographs, as well as one or two nearly contemporary copies after destroyed or extant originals. It will be our task later on to study these various works.

XIII

MR. FRICK'S "ST. FRANCIS"

I had not long finished writing the chapter on Bellini's autograph works in America when it was announced that Mr. Frick had purchased the St. Francis which aroused so much interest in the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition of 1912. I shall not recast the chapter to give this new acquisition its exact chronological order, for this new picture would not throw much light on those already attended to, and in point of date it goes with the later among them so that the sequence is not too much disturbed.

It is no exaggeration to say that we could not have added to our collections a work by Bellini at once so magnificent and so singular. Alone, it would give us a most incomplete and one-sided idea of its author, but in connection with the paintings we possess already,

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not to speak of those we still may hope to acquire, it becomes interesting and important as no Madonna or figure composition of equal quality could be. Figure paintings we have and shall add to, but a design of such magnitude given over so entirely to landscape is not known to exist in Venetian painting of the fifteenth century, or indeed in any other Italian school of that time.

A pen of genius like Ruskin's, inspired by his loving and accurate delineation of plants and flowers, and his delight in the rendering of rock formation and cloud structure, would not be more than adequate to the task of conveying in words a sense of this landscape. I shall not attempt it. The reproduction shall speak for itself (Fig. 45). It will, however, not be altogether superfluous, perhaps, to warn the spectator, brought up perchance on Impressionist painting, that he must not expect here a study after a scene in nature portrayed as faithfully as eye can see and brush can render, and always under the same conditions of light and atmosphere. No Quattrocento master would have seen any merit in such an attempt. Nature, like everything else in the visible world, was interesting to him not so much for its own sake as for the detail it furnished him to be used in his design. And when he set himself the task of painting a landscape, he did not very likely, certainly not necessarily, go out in search of a bit of scenery to reproduce, but composed it out of his own head with the details furnished him by memory and his note books. This detail had to be accurate in itself, obeying its own as well as universal laws of formation and structure and

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Fig. 45. GIOVANNI BELLINI: ST. FRANCIS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, New York.

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growth, but it never would have occurred to the artist that such detail had in his design to be related as he found it in nature. He always had an idea to express, a mood to convey, and he used his rocks, and plants, and trees, and clouds, and above all his light, for that purpose, differing from the pattern maker, or even musician, only in that he never deliberately conventionalized his detail, which, unlike their treatment of shape and sound, *he* reproduced faithfully with all their accidents and all their accents: so that every flower and shrub, every leaf and tree would stand the scrutiny of the botanist, every pebble and rock of the mineralogist and geologist, every animal of the naturalist, every building of the architect, and every artifact of its artisan.

Granted, however, that this is not a landscape as a Monet would have painted it, nor even as Sisley or Pissarro or any of their companions or followers, yet one will not readily find its superior. If far less a record of one impression than any of these, it is more arresting in detail. Here we have a world we shall not readily exhaust, and even when its own mood—solemn, sober, and meditative—no longer appeals to our consciousness, our spirit still can roam therein at leisure, entertained as in the best favored regions of the real world.

Doubtless Bellini, as well as his patron Messer Zuan Michiel who ordered this picture, meant it to be a landscape, but European man had not yet made sufficient advance toward nature to compose a landscape without some pretext of a religious, legendary, or at least

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romantic subject. The white man's world was still man-centered. The pretext here was St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. It is not unusual in Venetian Painting for Francis to stand rather than kneel while receiving the Stigmata, and it does not surprise us that Bellini conceives him as an ascetic, but at the same time virile and intellectual personality. But how different it all is from the Florentine or even the Sienese treatment of the subject! Here there is no passive ecstasy and no horrid wilderness, but a free man communing with his Ideal, and in surroundings completely humanized, humanized to the point of a certain noble homeliness. The Saint need not retire to the wilderness to find His God. He can find Him close to the haunts of men.

And now we must turn to the question of such deep interest to us special students of the history of Venetian painting:—when did Giovanni Bellini paint this picture? To get the right answer we shall be well advised to examine it first and foremost as a landscape.

From his earliest years as an independent artist, Giovanni Bellini betrays in his landscape a most unusual delight in quiet, sober forms which he had taken straight from nature and recombined for his purposes under a unifying light tending to produce the emotion he wished to stir. In the background to the late Mr. Theo. Davis' "Madonna" we have made acquaintance with such a result, but of the quietest. Those who have seen the National Gallery "Agony in the Garden" will never forget the transfiguring effect of the sunset glow upon a landscape as devoid of Romantic features or

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Classical evocations as anything in Italy can be. I for one have never been more deeply stirred by the creations of the most renowned magicians of the landscape art. Just because of its fidelity to the ordinary aspects and moods of nature this scene is not only transporting but convincing. Now it is fairly easy to be transporting, and one can with gifts and effort be convincing. To be both requires genius.

Bellini's interest in landscape seems to have intensified as well as expanded more and more as he found himself, and particularly during that most formative decade of his career, the years between 1470 and 1480. Yet the *predelle* to the Pesaro "Coronation" of about 1475, allowing even for their summary treatment, do not show the progress one might expect. But the Naples "Transfiguration," dating from toward the end of this period, presents a scene not only of silent, solemn, subduing feeling such as the subject demands, but one filled with well-managed episodes, and shows unexpectedly a much greater interest than hitherto in cloud and plant. In the "St. Francis" all these tendencies culminate, and never again do we find Bellini revelling, as he does here, in detail, whether it be of twig or leaf, pebble or wattled knot. Directly afterwards, he began to generalize nature, and to subordinate it to those effects of colored atmosphere which, because of his invention and teaching and example, became the dominant note of Venetian painting for the rest of its history. Before another ten years were over he offered us, in the background of the Uffizi "Allegory" and in those of the little "Allegories" of the Venice Academy, landscapes

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softer, more velvety, and subtler, but with the detail relatively blurred.

The date of the Naples "Transfiguration" is toward 1480, as all students seem to agree. Another work, chiefly interesting for its background, of nearly the same date, or perhaps a trifle later, is the "Resurrection" now in Berlin. The Uffizi "Allegory" was painted, I have reason to believe, about 1488. I shall now attempt to prove that Mr. Frick's "St. Francis" was designed after the Naples and Berlin pictures, but before, and I believe considerably before, the Uffizi one. General considerations derived from æsthetic appreciation and the progress of the art have already been presented in the last paragraph. Let us come to particulars.

Our landscape has most in common with the one in the "Transfiguration." The branching of the biggest tree in each is the same. The detail in the foreground, whether of plant, or rail, or wattle, is treated with the same meticulous care and vital precision. Even the signatures are in letters of nearly the same epigraphic character on perfectly identical crumpled scraps of paper attached to stumps. The buildings in the middle distance of the "St. Francis" are, on the other hand, more closely related to those in the "Resurrection," and the shepherd feeding his flock in the one is, but for a slight difference in dress, identical with the figure in the other. Finally, the castle on the height recalls the one on the horizon in the Uffizi "Allegory." But by far the most numerous and significant points of resemblance are with the two first works of the three just mentioned, and furthermore our landscape represents

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with them an identical stage in the progress of Bellini's treatment of atmosphere. In the Uffizi "Allegory" it is already so far advanced as to sacrifice vitality of line to its demands. Thus while there are no plants in the foreground of the "Allegory" to afford terms of comparison, we find them in a painting of perhaps the same year as that "Allegory," the Murano altarpiece of 1488 with Doge Barbarigo, and cannot fail to note how much less meticulously they are drawn and with how much less precision. We may justly conclude therefore that the advance in the treatment of both atmosphere and vegetation made between the last-mentioned paintings and ours is great enough to suggest a lapse of years, and we are thus pushed back to a date close to that of the "Transfiguration." Finally, if we have any further doubt regarding this point, we need only give our attention to the figure of the Saint to have it dispelled. The folds of his draperies are relatively stiff and severe, nothing like so free and fluent as the folds of, say, the St. Francis in the S. Giobbe Altarpiece. Indeed, they hark back to those in certain figures on the pilasters of the Pesaro "Coronation" and even to folds in the still earlier Carità Triptychs. Yet on the whole they are much closer to those in the S. Giobbe Altarpiece or to such a work of exactly the same period as the "Peter Martyr" at Monopoli. Our "St. Francis," for instance, has on his right sleeve a heart-shaped fold which, expanded or seen at another angle, occurs in the figure of Francis in the last-named altarpiece and in the St. Mark of the Murano "Madonna with the Doge Barbarigo" dated 1488, but to my recollection in no

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work certainly earlier than 1480. But the draperies in even the S. Giobbe "St. Francis" are much more rounded and fluent than in ours, and may well witness to an advance made in no less than two or three years. Now, as I beg my readers to accept until I find a more appropriate occasion for attempting proof, the S. Giobbe altarpiece was painted about 1483, and thus our figure cannot be dated later than 1481. Indeed I am inclined to believe that it may be somewhat earlier, and that it may have been intended to be a pendant to the "Transfiguration," which, by the way, is of the same size.

If Mr. Frick's "St. Francis" was designed about 1480 —and I do not believe that the competent student after examining the evidence carefully can come to any other conclusion—it leaves no ground for such an opinion as that of Mr. Roger Fry, acclaimed and enshrined by Dr. Tancred Borenius in his very learned annotations to Crowe and Cavalcaselle. According to Mr. Fry this most noble work is not by Bellini at all but by Marco Basaiti. Mr. Fry surely would not have fallen into this error had he considered the chronology of this work, and had he been more critical of Cavalcaselle as well as of my own youthful synthesis of that master. I hastily assimilated to his manner and therefore attributed to him all the paintings issuing from Bellini's studio which in fact, as I now believe, had served Basaiti as subjects for imitation. But the smaller man betrays himself in much feebler drawing, more indetermined, and scamped forms, seldom done with reference to nature (unless indeed as seen through Bellini's spec-

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tacles), by much cruder effects of lights, unreal modeling, and chillier coloring.

Among Basaiti's paintings known to me the following are the best as to quality and offer the closest elements of comparison with the landscape of our "St. Francis." As for the figure of the Saint himself, I despair of finding an even distant approach to it among the same artist's works:

The Venice Academy "Agony in the Garden" of 1510.

The Vienna version of the "Calling of the Children of Zebedee," dated 1515.

Mr. Robert Benson's "St. Jerome" dated 1505. This little panel is signed with a Bellini studio signature, and the Saint may have been designed by Bellini, but the landscape is surely Basaiti's.

The "St. Jeromes" of the National Gallery and Count Papafava's collection at Padua.

The "Entombment" of the Camerini collection at Piazzola.

The "Dead Christ" left by Count Pálffy to the Budapest Gallery.

Let the student compare the rock structure, the formation of clouds or the growth of plants in any of these panels with the same in our "St. Francis," and conclude for himself. All that transpires is that quite likely Basaiti was well acquainted with some such masterpiece of the great artist as the one before us, as well as the two "Pietàs," nearly contemporary with it, now at Toledo and Stuttgart. Like all archaists, however, Basaiti seldom if ever imitates the past, even as when in this

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case it is relatively recent, without letting something slip in that betrays a later date. I defy any one to point out the slightest trace in the "St. Francis" compelling us to conclude that it was painted much later than 1480. To make it even possible that Basaiti was its author it would have had to be done at the very least twenty years later, for we have no trace of him before 1500.

Finally, there may be yet another explanation of Mr. Fry's error. The "Anonimo Morelliano" speaks of our picture in the following terms: "The oil painting of St. Francis in the wilderness was done by Giovanni Bellini. It was begun by him for Messer Giovanni Michiel, and has a landscape all but finished and wonderful in its attention to detail." [1]

Mr. Fry with this bit of information in mind may perhaps have concluded that as the picture was unfinished it must have been left so because of Bellini's inability to complete it owing to old age and illness and that therefore it was a very late work, and consequently one of the pictures executed perhaps in the Bellini factory but altogether Basaiti's. This theory would rest on the assumption, which there no longer seems to me ground for making, namely, that Basaiti played an overwhelming rôle in the aged Bellini's studio and was in fact responsible for most of the work that left it. But all this is quite uncalled for. For instance, in the same collection, that of Taddeo Contar-

[1] The original (of which mine is not a literal but yet a scrupulously accurate interpretation) runs like this: *"La tavola del San Francesco nel deserto fu opera de Zuan Bellino cominciata da lui a M. Zuan Michiel, e ha un paese propinquo finito e ricercato mirabilmente."* Notizie d'opera di disegno pubblicata e illustrata da D. Jacopo Morelli, ed. Frizzoni (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1884), p. 168.

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ino, wherein the "Anonimo" in 1525 saw our "St. Francis," he also found "The Three Philosophers" (now at Vienna) which, as he tells us, was begun by Giorgione and finished by Sebastiano del Piombo. Yet it is as clear that that magical creation could not have been one of Giorgione's last, as it is certain that only after his death was it completed by Sebastiano.

Why Bellini left this work all but, yet not quite, finished about 1480 is a matter beyond my speculation. Perchance he already was overworked, or like Leonardo he was so much in love with his task that he could not bring it to an end. But the patience of Messer Zuan Michiel came to an end and he took the picture away.

To us who now contemplate this masterpiece with reverent attention it is by no means easy to discover where the landscape could have remained "not quite finished." Yet a close examination reveals in the middle distance, above as well as below the town, little rounded trees. Those above in particular, I mean those on the castle hill, are perhaps not altogether in the character of Bellini as he worked about 1480. As painters of that time finished up each bit separately, very likely it was that particular passage which remained unfinished. The Anonimo saw it in that state in 1525. I hazard the suggestion that it was completed directly afterwards by Girolamo da Santacroce, for these little trees are in his manner.

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CHAPTER IV

PICTURES FROM THE STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI, AND CONTEMPORARY COPIES

I SAID at the end of the last chapter that we had in America no autograph work of Giovanni Bellini's later than the Willys "Madonna" painted in 1488. We have, however, two of the best studio products—the Pourtalès picture dating from about 1500, and an important altarpiece from about 1510, besides nearly contemporary copies after two extant Madonnas, the one with the apple, in the National Gallery, of about 1488, and the one of 1507 at S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, as well as of the destroyed Cornaro "Christ at Emmaus" painted in 1490. The study of these may enable us to eke out, with the acquaintance of something like the real thing, those bookish pale notions regarding Bellini's thirty last years of activity to which those who cannot leave America should otherwise be reduced. Before turning to this task, however, I would invite the reader to go back with me for a moment to a couple of panels executed in Bellini's studio in his earlier years.

A short paragraph about this studio may not be out of place here.

For years it puzzled one to understand how there

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could occur passages of what seemed inferior workmanship in those of Giambellino's paintings which all agreed were among his earliest, as for instance the Correr "Dead Christ," and the "Transfiguration" of the same collection. It seemed odd that an artist of twenty or so should be so busy as not to find time for executing entirely with his own hands works of such inconsiderable size. And this in face of the fact that during the seventies of the XVth century his reputation among the common run of patrons had not yet risen manifestly above that of a compiling mediocrity like Lazzaro Sebastiani.[1] The enigma disappears if we assume, as I am inclined to, that Giovanni Bellini did not have an independent career till about 1465. As a full-grown man, and the son of his father, he probably enjoyed enough authority and reputation to have had almost from the start more work than he could do with his own hands, although a late beginning prevented his name from reaching the common ear for ten years more.

Probably from the first there issued from his studio not only paintings largely but not wholly from the master's own hand, like those already mentioned, but versions of autograph works, like the Berlin one (No. 1177) of the Verona "Madonna," as well as mere shop works which the artist only sketched out, leaving the elaboration and execution to assistants, as was the case with the series of panels for the *Carità*. Later his

[1] A Venetian writing home from Pera, April 18th, 1473, to ask for a picture of a Christ, requests that it be painted by Lazzaro Sebastiani, and to apply to Giambellino if Lazzaro is dead or unable to do it. *Raccolta di Documenti inediti per servire alla storia della pittura Veneziana nei Secoli XV e XVI. Ricerche dal Prof. Paoletti Pietro di Osvaldo, Fascicolo* 1. *I Bellini.* (*Padova, R. Stabilimento P. Prosperini,* 1894), *p.* 12.

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workshop, as indeed that of every other Renaissance master of equal fame, must have had more resemblance to a factory (of the days before steam of course) than to the studios of our present-day artists. Only Botticelli and Raphael among Giambellino's contemporaries can have had as much to superintend, and if we neglect the output of their ateliers we fail to comprehend the full range of their activities. We Morellians, in the resolve to distinguish between the works which an artist did or did not paint with his own hand, in our ardor to isolate the exact touch of the master himself and to see it exercising itself through the whole of his career, seem almost to have been inspired by a hostility, certainly by a contempt, for whatever was not entirely autograph. It was a nuisance to be got rid of and never referred to again. Or if the material in question was too interesting to be thus dismissed, the expedient was to distribute it among the close followers of the master, according to the degree of resemblance to their own works.

There was good reason for this attitude. It was necessary to learn to descry the touch of a master if we wished to acquire a sense of his quality as an artist. Incidentally, the æsthetic training which this involved has led to an appreciation of all quality, and to the emancipation of the sense of quality from the slavish attachment to given shapes and patterns. It has led also to probity, so that with all our sad aberrations, we have to-day much honester minds as well as a freer and surer sense of every kind of reality than had our fathers. A hand-painted chromo was their ideal—not in art alone.

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But the time has come when Morellian training has borne its fruit. We can now, if we will, end by distinguishing a studio work from an autograph one, and even a contemporary copy from either. We can therefore, as never before, make good use of every scrap, every fragment that betrays the sure imprint of a master's mind, when we endeavor to form an adequate image of his artistic personality.

The works of his studio become thus only less interesting than his autographs, now that our sure sense of his own touch enables us at once to appreciate the difference and to bridge it; for in imagination we can supply the defects of the inferior achievement.

I

FIGURES IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

A couple of years ago I published in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (September, 1913)[1] my conclusion that four triptychs originally painted for the *Carità* at Venice before August, 1471, and at present for the most part in the Academy and Correr Museum of that town, came out of the studio of Giambellino. Hitherto they had been ascribed to the Vivarini, to Alvise chiefly, for the good reason that our acquaintance with Giov. Bellini was so much based on a study of his mature and late styles that his earlier phases were but vaguely perceived. Now after a lapse of two years, which I have devoted for the most part to the study of the Venetian painting of that time, I am confident that the conclusions referred to were correct. The triptychs in question were

[1] Reprinted in my 3rd series of "Study and Criticism of Italian Art."

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certainly executed in Giovanni's workshop. He probably furnished pen or pencil sketches for them all, but it is doubtful whether he elaborated cartoons for any of them, unless it be for the Correr "Madonna." But the executants seem to have worked in the master's spirit to the extent of their own faculties.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York possesses paintings of this precise kind (Fig. 46) from the hand of one of these executants. I owe my acquaintance with them to Mr. Joseph Breck, whose discerning eye had identified them on the shutters of a tabernacle. As this was in the department of Renaissance odds-and-ends, and not too well placed, the paintings might easily have escaped my attention. The tabernacle itself is one of those delicious confections which Venetian carvers and gilders turned out so plentifully during the early and middle decades of the Quattrocento. Left to myself I should have judged it some twenty or thirty years earlier than 1471 or so, which must be the date of the paintings. And so it may be, for the shutters might easily have been added later.[1]

The right shutter contains the figure of St. Louis above that of St. Roch, and the left St. Jerome above St. Sebastian. Each stands out against its gold ground silhouetted almost as sharply as masses in nature seen against the sunset. The bituminous tone and the blurred condition of the present surface add to an emotional effect which is not unlike that produced by deliberate *plein air*.

[1] Apparently this work comes from Murano, where it was attributed to Antonio Vivarini.

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FIG. 46. STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI. FOUR SAINTS.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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The better preserved panels of the *Carità* triptychs produce a similar effect, and if we could evaluate and trust our feelings as well as we do our sight, that alone would assure us that they were by the same author. But we have had little or no training in the analysis of impressions, and thus must always fall back upon the better educated eye. This eye, however, recognizes so convincingly the identity that we need say nothing more about it.

The differences, although slight, concern us more, as they necessarily tend to increase our acquaintance with Bellini's art.

St. Louis occurs in the *Carità* series, where he is somewhat more prelatical. Here he is the candid guileless soul whom Giotto, if I mistake not—or was it Donatello?—despised for having changed a crown for a mitre. In type he anticipates the Augustin of forty years later in the altarpiece at San Crisostomo, as well as a figure in one of the last works of Bellini's studio, the Murano "Assumption." Jerome also occurs among the *Carità* panels, and in spirit they are alike. Both are virile, commanding old men, and prototypes of many representations of that Church Father which were painted in Venetia during the last decades of the XVth century. Our St. Sebastian has no resemblance to the one in the *Carità* triptychs. There he is frontal and rather rigid. Here he is a suppler, more youthful creature, turning one way and looking another earnestly and appealingly. Finally, the St. Roch has the interest of being, to my knowledge at least, the one and only instance of that saint in Giambellino's entire iconography.

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We must not jump to the conclusion that this fact has any relation to the artist's mind or preferences. He may have painted that compassionate pilgrim many a time. The disappearance of all other representations makes this one interesting. He anticipates the same saint as treated by the most faithful of Bellini's great followers, Palma Vecchio.

II

THE WORCESTER MADONNA

The next in date of the several works we shall study in this chapter is a "Madonna" (Fig. 47) in the Art Museum of Worcester, Mass., published and reproduced as a Rocco Marconi in the Bulletin of that institution for October, 1912. The design is obviously Bellinesque toward 1490, and, as the technique informs one, the execution is of not much later date. The picture is so close to the one autograph Madonna by Giovanni Bellini in the National Gallery (No. 280) that the only question is whether the differences are due to the copyist or the author.

Quality apart, in which the Worcester panel, as every bit of the drawing and modelling shows, is *decidedly* inferior, the chief differences are in the looks and ovals of the faces, and the action of the Child's hand. The London Madonna (Fig. 48) is submissive and resigned, while at Worcester she is somewhat haughty and perhaps masterful. In London the Child is almost tearful, as He caresses the apple in His Mother's hand, while at Worcester He looks vague and expressionless, and His

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Fig. 47. STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
Worcester, Mass., Art Museum.

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Fig. 48. GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA.
National Gallery, London.

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hand is held up in the air with no manifest purpose. The other variations, even those for the worse, might be due to the master, for he was experimental, enjoyed exhausting the possibilities of a theme, and was too pressed by clients to throw away the less genial offspring of his mind. Yet it is impossible to think of Bellini in connection with the face of the Worcester Madonna. Her look is foreign to his art, so far at least as known to me, The haughty or stylish or self-conscious Madonna is never found in works which sufficient reason compels one to accept as his.

The differences between the Worcester copy and the London autograph may then be due to the person who painted the former. If we deduct the stylish disdain and enhance the quality, we get a fair representation of a Madonna by Bellini dating from scarcely later than 1489.

As chronology is so important in the present stage of our studies it will not be amiss to give the reasons for the date.

The Worcester "Madonna," as we have just seen, is either a copy of the London one or of a variant thereof, and therefore of the same date. Now the London picture for obvious reasons cannot be earlier than the "Madonna between the Two Trees" of 1487 (Venice Academy, No. 596) and the one in the Frari of 1488, nor later than its closest parallel, the one in the former Nemes Collection.[1] The last named can scarcely be

[1] See reproduction in sale catalogue and in *"Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst,"* Neue Folge XXIII, opp. p. 289, where it illustrates an interesting article by Freiherr von Hadeln.

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later than 1489, for the good reason that a picture by Francesco Tacconi, dated October of that year, is a copy of a slight variant of the Nemes picture.

The relation of the Nemes panel to the National Gallery Tacconi will repay a moment's attention, for it will contribute a point of interest to the matter in hand.

The Nemes picture, which, by the way, could scarcely have been executed by Bellini although certainly designed by him, differs in one important feature from the Tacconi version. In the former the Madonna has wide-open eyes, while in the latter they are half closed. Two other contemporary copies agree in this respect with Tacconi, the one by an unknown painter in the Scalzi at Venice, and the other by Filippo Mazzola in the Padua Gallery. The original therefore probably had a Madonna with eyes half closed, and I further suspect—but this is parenthetical—that she was seen full length, and that, in brief, the National Gallery Tacconi was every bit of it a faithful copy of such an original. For an imitation by an inferior artist the sweep of her mantle is too close to Bellini's, too like that of the Madonna in the Murano altarpiece of 1488. And besides, if the first version was not of a figure seated with one foot resting on a footstool, why the position with the Virgin's right leg drawn up in the two other copies as well as in the Nemes "Madonna"? The shortened replica evidently was made for domestic purposes, and the copies likewise.

If we now return to the National Gallery "Madonna," and by implication to its contemporary copy at Worcester, we see that it too is but a variant upon the

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Fig. 49. Studio of Giovanni Bellini: Madonna.
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

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Fig. 50. Studio of Giovanni Bellini: Madonna.
National Gallery, Layard Bequest, London.

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lost original of the Tacconi, for the patterns are identical in essentials and the expression the same. The difference is in the action of the Child and that, although considerable, is not radical.

We may conclude, therefore, that the National Gallery Madonna was necessarily not later than 1489. Its relations to other works, those namely of 1487 and 1488, make it unlikely that it was painted much earlier.

III

MADONNA OF THE FOGG MUSEUM

In the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass., there is a "Madonna" (Fig. 49) which cannot fail to interest us. It has suffered a great deal, and its general tone, as I recall it, is rather like putty, but the design is not unworthy of the signature IOANNES BELLINUS that we read on the parapet.

She is seen to below the knees, sitting somewhat sideways to left against a curtain, to our left of which appears a narrow strip of landscape and sky. A white kerchief with large folds frames in her face, and the blue mantle does not enfold but barely clings to the head. Her right hand supports the Child and her left rests on a prayer book. As for the Child, He is naked and sits back in her lap with His little hands folded over His left thigh. As in the Metropolitan Museum and Salomon pictures and their affinities that we studied in the last chapter, the Child looks as if He were dreamily listening and His Mother is grave, almost tearful, somewhat as in the National Gallery "Ma-

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donna" that we have just considered, and in the Venice one "between the Two Trees."

The design as a whole is one of tender, deep, yet restrained feeling in Bellini's most typical mood, and sorely as it lacks the vibrant touch of the master's own hand, it nevertheless bears ample witness to its being a creation of his mind. Were confirmation of this statement needed, we should discover it in the fact that this "Madonna," besides imitations that shall be referred to presently, can show a replica of itself worthy of our attention.

The replica (Fig. 50) which is in the Layard Collection, bequeathed to the National Gallery of London, is also signed on the parapet and differs only in minor details from ours. The hem of the kerchief is more elaborately embroidered, and the folds of the mantle are more crumpled, but above all there is much more landscape. And this landscape, with its bare tree in the foreground, its shepherd, and the quiet hills stretching under horizontal layers of cloud to the horizon, is in Bellini's mood. The feeling is softer and without the noble purity of our version. It would seem as if our "Madonna and Child" were the more faithful representation of the master's original, but that, on the other hand, the landscape of the Layard replica enjoyed that advantage over ours. For execution, too, the Layard picture is the better. In ours the curtain which almost shuts out the landscape cuts across the draperies in a way to be explained only as being due to an afterthought.[1]

[1] The softer sentiment and better handling of the Layard picture would be

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A picture whereof two studio versions have come down to us must have been pleasing to its author or his clients, or both. It seems to have remained a favorite for some time, as is attested by a copy from the hand of a follower of Catena's which I saw in a dealer's gallery in New York early in 1914. This scarcely could have been painted, judging by its relation to Catena, earlier than 1520, and assuming, as I shall try to show in an instant that our design dates from about 1490, it follows that this last enjoyed a popularity of thirty years at least. Interesting echoes of it may be perceived in a "Madonna" of the Duomo at Chioggia, and in another "Madonna" of the Ferrarese Cavalieri Collection (845 of sale catalogue), both from the earliest years of the XVIth century.

We must now approach the question of the exact date of the masterpiece represented by the Fogg and Layard Madonnas.

If we looked at the Child alone and the hand supporting Him we should, as already observed, connect this work with the Madonnas of the Metropolitan Museum and of the Salomon Collection. At first sight it would seem indeed as if our picture continued the series represented by those kindred paintings. Even the mantle, which in those Madonnas retreated more and more from the Virgin's forehead, here clings barely to the back of her skull. Looked at more closely, however, we discover features that harmonize better with another group of pictures, represented by the Murano Altar-

accounted for if we attributed its execution to Rondinelli: I seem to descry his hand in Bellini's studio from about 1489 onwards for some years.

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piece, the Uffizi "Allegory," the Berlin "Madonna with the Child holding a Pomegranate" (No. 11), a "Madonna" belonging to Countess Brentani at Bergamo, and the favorite "Madonna with Saints Paul and George" of the Venice Academy. For independent reasons, the discussion of which must be relegated to a more suitable place, I would assign all these works to the years between 1488 and 1490.

With the Uffizi "Allegory" ours is connected by the bond of common feeling, and by the type of Child. The Virgin's right hand is identical with the right hand in the Berlin "Madonna," which, by the way, is only a studio painting executed probably by Rondinelli.

The way her kerchief is arranged, so that one end falls down straight over her chest while the other in crumpled folds disappears under the mantle, is paralleled only, to my recollection, in the same Berlin panel, in the Murano Altarpiece, and in still another work of this exact period known to us in numerous copies but not in the original, the "Presentation of the Holy Child" in the Temple. The folds of the kerchief have much specifically in common with all the paintings just mentioned, as well as with the Brentani "Madonna" already referred to, which is, by the way, a studio work dated 1489. The embroidered hem also makes its final appearance at this time. And the left hand of the Virgin in our design belongs to a type not found before the "Madonna between the Two Trees" of 1487, while it is not infrequent during the next few years. It would be tedious to pile up more evidence, and we are justified in concluding at this point that the

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Fogg and Layard studio pictures represent a Bellini original of 1488-1490. Something in the type and pose of the Madonna anticipating later works inclines me to place it toward 1490.

It will not have escaped the student's attention that the group of which the design just discussed is a member was practically contemporary with the other group to which the original of the Worcester "Madonna" belonged. This should be a warning to proceed with the greatest circumspection in dating pictures, as the natural although hasty conclusion would be that these two groups belonged to two different periods. It should also increase our admiration for the variety as well as for the fertility of Bellini's genius.

IV

COPIES OF THE "CHRIST AT EMMAUS"

In 1490 Giovanni Bellini painted a "Christ at Emmaus" for Giorgio Cornaro, the brother of Catherine, Queen of Cyprus. In the XVIIIth century this picture drifted down to Vienna. There it was lost in the fire of Prince Rusamowsky's palace.[1] Fortunately it was engraved before it left Venice, and although the reproduction, made in 1760 by Pietro Monaco, could not be entirely free from Tiepolesque smartness, it suffices to assure us that it must have been one of the artist's most interesting achievements. No Venetian treating this

[1] See Bruno Geiger in *Jahrbücher der Prussischen Kunstsammlungen* XXX, 129 *et seq.*, where will be found all the information and reproductions regarding the subject of this section except what is furnished here.

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subject afterwards could quite free himself from it. It inspired Benedetto Diana to paint, some fifteen years or more later, a masterpiece all but out of the reach of his average mediocrity, and Catena painting toward 1530 harks back to it. Every scrap, therefore, which may help to reconstruct this perished design is of value, and the nearer in date to the destroyed original the more valuable it will be, seeing it is more likely to be animated by the same spirit and to be executed in the same technique. The stupidity of the copyist may, however, more than counterbalance such advantages.

It cannot be said that Bellini's "Christ at Emmaus" was particularly fortunate in its copyists. Apart from Monaco's engraving already referred to, two other versions were hitherto known, the little pictures in the Berlin Museum (S. 6) and the red-chalk drawing in the Louvre. The last, although tight and cramped, would have approached closest to the linear framework of the original and to the simple dignity of its feeling, if it gave the whole composition. But the central part, containing the figure of Our Lord and of the companion wearing the bearskin hat, has disappeared, and with it what information it might have offered regarding the exact aspect of the background. The small Berlin copy is complete, but reduced as much in spirit as in size. The two copies contained in American collections are consequently welcome. If they lack merit of their own, they will at least serve to check and control Monaco's engraving.

The earlier of the two American copies (Fig. 51) is a panel in Memorial Hall, Philadelphia (Wilstach

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Fig. 51. Copy After Giovanni Bellini's "Christ at Emmaus."
Wilstach Collection, Memorial Hall, Philadelphia.

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FIG. 52. TITIANESQUE COPY OF GIOVANNI BELLINI'S "CHRIST AT EMMAUS."
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Collection, No. 268). Far inferior to the feeble but dainty Berlin version, it has the advantage of being much larger—some 30 by 43 inches—and of representing the original better in that one respect. The second copy (Fig. 52) in the Walters Collection at Baltimore differs from all the others in being rather a translation into the more impassioned and grandiloquent language of the ripe Cinquecento than an effort at a faithful rendering. Nevertheless, it remains true not only to the arrangement but to the action and silhouette of Bellini's composition, and its too highly charged atmosphere is a corrective to the over-meekness and tameness of the more contemporary copies. It is characteristic, too, of the Venetian painters who continued and extended Giorgione's world that the entire composition has been transported out of doors into a glorious summer landscape stretching away to the not too far distant hills.

We can now compare the three paintings and the Louvre drawing to see in what way they confirm or correct Monaco's engravings, and attempt thereby to attain to a more precise idea of the original.

All versions agree with regard to the arrangement, silhouettes and action of the five figures concerned. There is surprising agreement even with regard to detail. Thus the hands and the folds of the draperies, which copyists of that date were apt to assimilate to their own habit of treatment, show but the slightest divergences, and testify to the fact that the original must have had the ample but rather angular folds affected by Bellini toward 1490. In the Berlin panel the turbaned figure wears a coat of striped silk. For this there is no

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warrant in the other versions, and it is a departure that must have been due to the fine color sense of its author. The engraving leaves it doubtful, but the other versions, the Walters one best of all, make it clear that the seated apostle on our right wore a large summer hat attached to his back. The objects on the table are the same, allowing for the larger masses in the Walters copy characteristic of the mature Titianesque style of its copyist. There is more diversity about the background. Except the Walters painting, which puts the scene in the open air, all have a room with a tesselated pavement and all have the wall on our right decorated with slabs of marble divided off by darker stripes of the same substance. This, by the way, was a fashion just then introduced by the Lombardi in their decoration of S. Maria de'Miracoli, finished in 1489, and used also by the author of the "Annunciation" painted for the organ-shutters of that church, now in the Venice Academy. The Philadelphia version has a curtain behind Our Lord, introduced by the copyist to give more accent to that figure. The Berlin copy, and what remains of the Louvre drawing, agree upon a draped wall to the back, which is doubtless right, as it is much more effective.

None of the versions give us an adequate image of the head of Our Lord in this lost composition. The Monaco engraving is haughty in a Tiepolesque way, the Walters picture is crudely Titianesque, while both the earlier copies are too meek and feeble. But the Berlin version suggests that in the original the head may have looked very much like the inspired one in the fragment (Venice Academy, No. 87, Photo. Anderson 11474)

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which is all that remains of a "Transfiguration" painted by Giambellino a little earlier for S. Salvatore.

None of the versions can, however, assure us that the Cornaro panel was an autograph masterpiece rather than a studio piece. Perhaps it matters little now. The mind of the artist penetrates clearly enough through the copies.

V

MR. J. P. MORGAN'S "SANTA CONVERSAZIONE"

The next work to claim our attention is the Pourtalès picture. Known to me, as to most other students, through the engraving contained in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (XVIII, 1865, 12) and by means of the poor woodcut in M. Lafenestre's "Histoire de la Peinture en Italie," it was for many years one of my standing wishes to see the original. Finally, some few years ago I saw it in a Winter exhibition of the Royal Academy. I was disappointed, but chiefly perhaps to find that it was not by Catena, as the engraving had led me to expect. Intrinsically it was none the worse for that, however, although it was still far from being an autograph work by Bellini himself. Clearly it was only a studio piece. A little later it was acquired by Mr. J. P. Morgan, and it is now displayed in his library together with the Bartolommeo Vivarini "Epiphany" that we already have studied, Ghirlandajo's gracious profile of Giovanna Tornabuoni, and the portrait by Castagno of a great-souled Florentine who may be Leo Battista Alberti.

Let us now examine this rectangular panel (Fig. 53).

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On our right sits the Blessed Virgin, a severe but still youthful figure, wearing a hood sewn with pearls, and a mantle thrown over her chest. Her extended right hand touches the head of a Venetian Senator in gorgeous attire, whom at the same time the Holy Child is blessing. Opposite on the extreme left we see St. Paul in profile, absorbed in a book; yet he looks as if the sword which slips in between his arm and his side should be his more genuine interest. The pommel of the sword, by the way, was wrought by the best Milanese makers, and its knob, it is interesting to note, is worked with a pattern of knots suggested by Leonardo da Vinci's so-called "Academy." Next to St. Paul stands a large-faced youth covered with curls, wearing plate armor, and grasping a lance. Quite accidentally, of course, he calls to mind the type of the pious Protestant hero of the Thirty Years' War, but he really is St. George. Or was he perhaps the donor's son in this guise taking so conspicuous a post in the composition? He is hard to account for otherwise, seeing that he neither looks at the Blessed Virgin nor at any of the Saints, but mildly, and perhaps a trifle shyly, out of the picture. Finally, the space between him and the Blessed Virgin is taken up by two young female saints, one adoring the Holy Child, and the other looking straight out of the picture again. She has a rather hard although beautiful face and wears a laurel wreath over her kerchief. The other wears a turban. Kerchief and turban are of beautiful soft-colored Oriental silks. For background we have the sky and clouds.[1]

[1] 30¼ by 44¼ inches. A type-written statement on the back is of interest:

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Fig. 53. STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI: MADONNA WITH DONOR AND SAINTS.
Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York (from the Pourtalès Collection).

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We find in this work the healthy types, the quiet impressiveness, the good color we expect of the mature Giovanni Bellini. On the other hand, I seem to discover a real disproportion between the heads, and neither the drawing nor the painting has the touch of the master himself. I conclude with little or no hesitation that it is only a studio picture.

The question remains whether this painting was done in Giovanni Bellini's studio as a relatively independent work by assistants, or whether it is an accurate version of a lost autograph design. The answer is not altogether easy. The internal evidence is not absolutely conclusive, although my feeling is in favor of its being a replica of a lost original. I see, for instance, that better values would easily correct the seeming disproportion of the heads, and restore the proper articulation of the groups. A more subtle although inconspicuous regard for the third dimension, and the consequent deepening of the space, would give proper distance and due detachment to the female figures. All this, as well as much more vital drawing, would have been easy for Bellini. Not his, surely, are hands so variously bad. With all its faults, nevertheless, I find the work before us superior in invention, and even in execution, to the paintings of any of his possible assistants at this time.

The date of this work, as I shall endeavor to prove a

—"This picture was bequeathed to the sculptor Canova by Cardinal Rezzonico and was purchased from Bishop Canova (the brother and inheritor of the sculptor) by a man who sold it to the Pourtalès Family in Paris. The picture was sold in the Pourtalès sale in Paris in 1865, bringing frs. 75,000, or £3,000."

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little later, is about 1500. Nicolò Rondinelli, who was assisting the master in the late eighties and earlier nineties, must have left the studio before this time; and besides, I do not discover here any trace of his hand. Bissolo, who may have been in the workshop when this picture was painted, shows at no period of his career gifts adequate to the production of a masterpiece like this, not quite, yet almost on a level with Bellini's highest. He invents little, usually pieces together and rearranges bits taken over from the master, and renders them in a soft blurred way in no wise like the firm, almost hard, execution of this picture.

Nor is it likely to be maintained by serious students that any of the dull mediocrities who were then signing their pictures with the boast that they were D. I. B., that is to say, *discepoli,* pupils, of Giovanni Bellini, could have conceived and carried through this *Santa Conversazione.* Think of any of the Marcos or Santacroces or Previtali as author of such a painting. It is absurd. Basaiti, too, has frequently enough been called in to father pictures, and even such important ones as Mr. Robert Benson's *Santa Conversazione,* which were not considered quite worthy of Bellini himself. Basaiti, however, was at this time still assisting his master Alvise Vivarini, if any one. If ever he painted in a way approaching this work, it was not towards 1500 but much later. Even then, how remote from this! There is nothing here of his mind or hand. We can see how these worked, and with what results, in a copy of our Madonna with an Infant Baptist in place of the donor, formerly in the collection of the late M. Schloss of

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Paris. The modelling is hard, the contours sharp and incisive, the extremities caricatured, the folds muddy, and the light and shade, as might be expected of so close a follower of Alvise Vivarini, harshly contrasted. And Basaiti painted thus toward 1515. Fifteen years earlier he must have been thinner, sharper, harsher still, as we may infer from his earliest works, as, for instance, the "Madonna with two Saints" at Munich. There remains Catena. Twenty or more years ago, when I knew little, I was inclined to ascribe the Pourtalès picture to this painter. The explanation is that I was not acquainted with the original, and that the engraving, by omitting much of the modelling, made it look like the hard, dry, flat early paintings of Catena, which in addition sometimes have a Madonna or Child or female saint inspired by if not copied from our picture. But the original has nothing of the hardness and sharpness, flatness and attenuation, of Catena's early works. Compare it with such a picture by him as the Mond "Madonna with the Baptist, a female Saint, and two Donors." The comparison is the more interesting as the Mond Madonna is copied from ours. A glance will suffice, a glance at the reproductions even to assure us that Catena, who no earlier than 1502 was painting these timid, dry, bloodless figures, could not earlier still have created a masterpiece like the Pourtalès *Santa Conversazione*.[1]

[1] Dr. Borenius in his commentary to Crowe & Cavalcaselle ("History of Painting in Northern Italy," vol. 1, p. 299, note 4) ascribes it to Bartolommeo Veneto. Dr. Borenius deserves our everlasting gratitude for having culled for us all the information contributed by archives in the last fifty years, but I cannot say that the attributions with which he decks out his commentary are, as a rule, appropriate. This one is odd.

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It will scarcely occur to any one to say, But why not Giorgione, why not Titian? By 1500 Giorgione must have been independent of Bellini and painting after his own inspiration. As for Titian, there is no evidence that he frequented the studio of Giovanni Bellini. Moreover, there is no faintest trace in the earliest paintings of either to suggest that they conceivably could have thought and felt and worked in precisely this way.

We thus have eliminated the probabilities that the masterpiece we now are considering was the invention and handiwork of an assistant in Bellini's studio. We must assume, on the contrary, that not only was it Bellini's conception, but that there must have been a version painted by his own hand; and for this reason. It enjoyed a quite unparalleled vogue, and of no other work by Bellini do we discover so many echoes. It is hard to believe that this would have been the case had it been less than an autograph masterpiece. It might conceivably be argued that the action of the Madonna and Child lent themselves to the introduction of a donor, thus furnishing an occasion for the perpetuation of the patron's own portrait in sacred places. We find, however, that the motive pleased on its own account, and that, as in the Stuttgart abbreviation of this work, the Blessed Virgin's hand rests not on the head of a donor but on a book. I am inclined to go so far as to believe that this change may have been introduced in the studio, for we find several versions with this alteration. Another alteration still that may have issued from the studio is in the hood of the Madonna, which,

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as in the last-named picture, is without embroidery and without pearls.

It may be of interest and profit to give a list, with the briefest comments, of the contemporary paintings which depend directly or indirectly upon the original of Mr. Morgan's masterpiece. Far from setting out to be complete, it comprises those only of which I happen to possess the photographs. I have notes of others but too scanty to be of use, and naturally there must be others still unknown to me.

Four have the motive of the Blessed Virgin touching the head of a donor:—Previtali, Berlin Gallery, Madonna with St. Paul, St. Catherine, another female saint and a donor, whom the Child blesses. Paul is a variant upon the one in the Pourtalès picture, and Catherine upon a female figure in the "Circumcision" of which only studio versions and copies remain. Bellini's original must have been painted a few years earlier than the Pourtalès *Santa Conversazione*. The date of this Previtali is about 1504.

Marco Veneto. Bergamo, Carrara Gallery. Madonna touching the head of a donor while the Child blesses him. Two attendant saints.

Francesco Rizzo da Santaroce. Hage Collection, Nivaagaard, Denmark. Madonna with her hand on the head of a donor whom the Child blesses. This panel, then belonging to Mr. Charles Butler, was shown in the Venetian Exhibition of 1894-95, when I ascribed it to Francesco. It is probably an early work by Francesco Rizzo and not by Francesco di Simone.

Catena. Mond Collection, London. The Ma-

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donna puts her hand on a donor recommended by the Baptist while the Child looks at another donor to our right. A female saint. Here only the Blessed Virgin and her action are taken from the Pourtalès picture. The female saint, however, was no doubt suggested by the one there looking straight out. The date is certainly not earlier than 1502, and probably not much later.

Four others have the motive of the Madonna touching the head of the Infant Baptist instead of a donor, while the Child blesses him. In other respects it is like the first motive. It occurs to me that the infant Baptist here may have represented a child of the family for whom it was painted, if he did not actually reproduce this child's features.

Lorenzo Lotto. Naples. The Madonna touches the head of the Infant John recommended by Peter Martyr. The date inscribed on the back of the panel is Sept. 20, 1503.

Basaiti. Collection of the late M. Schloss of Paris, now dispersed. Madonna touching the head of the Infant Baptist whom the Child blesses. The Infant Baptist, who, by the way, has his arms crossed over his chest, shows the influence of Catena. Behind the Blessed Virgin hangs a curtain of watered silk like the one in Bellini's Brera "Madonna" of 1510, and in other works from his studio of that date.

Francesco di Simone da Santacroce. Bergamo, Carrara Gallery. Here the Madonna does not touch the head of the Infant Baptist, but his shoulder. His arms

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are folded. Francesco died in 1508, but this panel may date from several years earlier.

Francesco Rizzo da Santa Croce. Baltimore, Walters Collection. Madonna touching the head of the Infant Baptist while Joseph and Zachariah look on. Zachariah shows the influence of Catena. A much later work than the one at Nivaagaard.

Three more have the motive of the Madonna touching a book with her extended hand while the Child blesses. Stuttgart (428). The Madonna rests her outstretched hand on a book which stands slightly open on a table covered with a Turkey carpet. Behind the table appears a female saint adoring. She is copied from the figure in the same attitude in the Pourtalès picture, but her turban as well as the Blessed Virgin's hood is simplified. In the background a creased curtain against a sky with cloudlets. I no longer believe that the author of this abbreviation of the Pourtalès *Santa Conversazione* was Basaiti. It would seem rather as if it had been produced in Bellini's workshop by an assistant who, indeed, like most assistants of great masters, remains nameless. It probably is a few years later than the original.

Stuttgart (429). Madonna with her finger tips on a book which rests on a wooden block. Behind her a curtain. On the left a pretty landscape. On the wooden block is fixed a creased *cartellino* with the inscription Marco d[iscipulus] Ioa[nnis B[ellini] P[ictor or ixit]. Who this Marco was I do not know. He certainly was not Basaiti or Marco Veneto, nor very

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likely Belli. It looks as if he had some version like the last before him rather than the original.

MM. Steinmeyer, Paris. Madonna, sitting in front of half-drawn curtain revealing landscape with shepherds in foreground, a stream in middle distance and pyramidal hills further away, rests her hand on a book supported on a parapet. To this is affixed a creased cartellino with the inscription IOANNES BELLINUS, which should be charitably taken for a label rather than a fraudulent signature. The copyist would seem to have had before him a picture like the last rather than the original. Who he was I do not know. I suspect this is the panel that formerly belonged to the Baroness Moltke of Munich.[1]

The Catena in the Razynski Collection in Posen which represents the Madonna, the Infant Baptist, Zachariah and a female Saint, is a variant upon the second motive. The Holy Child does not sit upon His Mother's right knee blessing, but clings to her right shoulder as He leans over to caress the Infant Baptist. The date is not earlier than 1508.

The Child alone occurs in Filippo Mazzola's "Madonna" in Berlin (No. 1455). Mazzola died in 1505. Here the action is already intensified. In even more intensified form it became a frequent motive in the "golden age" of Venetian painting. An early instance

[1] A slight variant upon this theme occurs in an "Epiphany" which I saw some years ago in the collection of M. Van Gelder of Ucle in Belgium. Instead of a book the Madonna touches the vase of the Wise King of the East. Joseph, by the way, is taken from one of the figures in the "Christ at Emmaus" that we studied in the last section. The painter has affinities with Marco Marziale.

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appears in Palma's "Madonna, Jerome and Francis with a female donor," in the Borghese Gallery.

The frontal female Saint alone accurs in Catena's picture at Budapest, representing in addition the Madonna with Francis recommending a donor. The Child is taken from another work from Bellini's studio of somewhat earlier date than the Pourtalès picture. I refer to the *Santa Conversazione* formerly in the Simon Collection at Berlin, left recently by Baron Schlichting to the Louvre. Any one tempted to attribute the Pourtalès picture to Catena should compare the stiffened, flattened, rigid female saint here in the Budapest work with the corresponding figure there.

Whether Cima in his Berlin Madonna with the Child blessing a donor betrays acquaintance with our motive is more than doubtful. The date of the work seems too early to permit it and the action is not yet fully developed. Possibly it was inspired by a Bellini now lost.

This array of contemporary works based on the Pourtalès panel should tend to convince us that the design enjoyed the consideration that would be given to a work only by Bellini himself, one that he had conceived and executed. But as the execution of the picture before us is not Bellini's, and on the other hand it is by none of his assistants known to us by works of their own, we are led to conclude that it was a studio replica or variant of a lost original.

The enumeration of works based upon this design serves yet another purpose. It gives us without further trouble a date later than which this *Santa Conversa-*

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zione could not have been painted, and thus saves us at least half the labor of establishing its chronology.

We shall remember that Lotto inscribes his Naples picture with the year 1503, and that it is not based directly on our design, but on that variant thereof which brought in the Infant Baptist instead of a donor for the Blessed Virgin to touch and the Child to bless. It may be argued that this alteration of the motive would have been called for only after the original had found time to become popular, and that a year or two may have elapsed between them. This would take the Pourtalès design back to about 1501. As all the other pictures that we have enumerated, with the possible exception of the Mond Catena, are later than Lotto's, we may at all events safely conclude that Bellini created his masterpiece no later than 1503.

It is not so easy to settle how much earlier than 1503. The argument just advanced might take it back a couple of years, and it may be pleaded further that it would be singular if a work, the imitation of which begins no later than 1503 and lasts for a decade from that date, should have been painted many years previously.

These conclusions, derived as they are from outside evidence, are the more welcome as the internal evidence, although in a sense clear, is not obvious. I can conceive the eager candidate for a doctor's degree fixing his attention upon the Madonna in the Pourtalès picture, and noting a certain resemblance to several of the Madonnas draped across the chest (as, for instance, the one with the Greek inscription in the Brera or the Madonna in the Turin Gallery), who would

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insist that the entire work goes back to the seventies of the XVth century. And indeed it is true that Bellini here does pick up a thread dropped for a quarter of a century, an action far from uncharacteristic of him or any other great master. It is only the mechanized mediocrity who pursues his forward course like a projectile. The Leonardos and Botticellis, and Michelangelos, and Bellinis and Titians are apt to have moments when something from their past comes back to them and demands attention once more. So much for the Madonna. The two male saints recall, of course, the Venice Academy "Madonna between Paul and George," dating from the second lustre of the eighties, and no person acquainted with the trend of Venetian art but would feel that our figures are later than those. If we regarded them alone we should be brought well into the nineties for the date of our design. The two females recall, at least as clearly, two in Mr. Robert Benson's *Sacra Conversazione* which, as I hope to have occasion to determine elsewhere, did not issue from Bellini's studio before 1510 and probably not before 1512. And yet the severity of the face and relative hardness of treatment in ours is so much greater than in Mr. Benson's painting that a lapse between them of ten years may be readily admitted, which would bring us back to about 1502. The donor would fit in well with such a date, for his hair, and that something in a face which makes it like a dial bearing the mark of the hour, point to the turn of the century. The Child also belongs to that time, and at all events no earlier, for he is already of the type found in the S. Zachariah altar-

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piece of 1505, in the S. Francesco della Vigna panel of 1507, the Brera "Madonna" of 1510 and a studio picture of even later date, the Borghese "Madonna." The peculiar hand of the Blessed Virgin touching the donor's head is matched but once in any work of Bellini's shop known to me. That work, the "Assassination of Peter Martyr," of the National Gallery, must have been painted before 1504, for during that year, or just before or after, Lotto betrays acquaintance with it in his "Madonna with Francis and Jerome" of Bridgewater House. A final consideration is suggested by the composition itself. We have got so used to its kind that it takes an effort to put ourselves back and inquire whether such a decentralized arrangement with so much of the air of the *Santa Conversazione* about it existed in Venice before 1500. I cannot recall any, and indeed Venetian art hesitated to take it up until Titian made it his own. The internal evidence, when carefully examined and weighed, thus confirms the outside information and we may conclude that the Pourtalès picture, now Mr. Morgan's, was painted soon after 1500.

VI

MR. WALTERS' ALTARPIECE

It will not have escaped the student's attention that none of the works we have been discussing, whether autograph or studio versions, were painted in the last decade of the XVth century. No wonder, for the pictures of those years that can be attributed to Bellini or

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Fig. 54. Variant of a Late Giovanni Bellini: Madonna and Donor.
Collection of Mr. Hervey Wetzel, Boston.

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his studio are extremely rare. Indeed, none occurs readily to one's mind except the "Circumcision," which survives in many copies. The suggestion has been made that in those years Giovanni's time was taken up with work for the Doge's Palace. It would seem a probable explanation, and the more so as upon the turn of the century we begin to have a fair abundance of his designs once again, and we know that by that time his labors in the Palace were drawing to an end. The destruction of these historical paintings some seventy and more years later is doubly to be deplored, since, by absorbing perhaps the most creative decade of Bellini's career, they have deprived us of many an altarpiece which we should otherwise have enjoyed.

We in America cannot boast of a single autograph painting of his later years. This is not likely to be remedied, for Bellini in his old age let his mind work rather than his brush, and the pictures painted with his own hands except those in churches and public collections are far from frequent. We can, however, be thankful for one studio work that is not without importance, the altarpiece in Mr. Walters' Collection at Baltimore.

But, first, I would invite the student to throw a glance at a Madonna (Fig. 54) belonging to Mr. Hervey Wetzel of Boston.

The Blessed Virgin, seated, holds the naked Child erect on her right knee, while He blesses a donor. Behind her is a charming landscape in the rustic idyllic mood as practised by the young Titian. Its color is pleasant and of a clear warm ivory tone. The handling

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betrays an expert's touch but scarcely that of a great master. In the whole there is something that suggests Rocco Marconi. But the question of its execution is of minor interest. Such modest importance as this Madonna has in our eyes is due to the fact that, allowing for the personality of the copyist, it is in essentials a faithful rendering of the Madonna in Bellini's panel of 1507 in S. Francesco della Vigna.

It will be remarked that in the altarpiece the original donor was replaced some fifty or sixty years after by one of that later time. In Mr. Wetzel's version we have one almost contemporary with the original painting; not, however, necessarily a copy of that head. Its relation to the Madonna shows that, although her figure was rendered faithfully, the rest of the composition was ignored. The implication is that the person who ordered this panel wanted the Madonna alone with himself as donor. But the landscape, I take it, indicates for this copy a date at least five years later, and there is no reason for assuming that it was a commission of the original donor. Unfortunately the panel has been cut down leaving us only the mask of what must have been a manly, handsome profile.[1]

Before returning to the Walters altarpiece I would draw attention to a "Madonna with SS. Peter and Augustine" by Girolamo Santacroce in the collection of Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia; for it would seem to be a free version of a work from Bellini's studio of the kind, say, of the "Madonna with the Baptist and a

[1] Not altogether without interest are the versions of Bellini's original by Girolamo Santacroce at Rovigo and Bergamo.

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Fig. 55. Studio of Giovanni Bellini: Madonna with Saints and Donors.

Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Female Saint" in the Giovanelli Palace. There is scarcely a feature here that does not recall the one or the other of the later studio works of Giovanni, whether the National Gallery "Madonna with the Child Asleep," the Ashburnham altarpiece of 1505 now in Mr. Vernon Watney's country house at Cornbury, the Giovanelli picture already mentioned, or the very late "Assumption" in S. Pietro at Murano. The date of the lost original may have been toward 1510.

Mr. Walters' altarpiece (Fig. 55) is an oblong composition some three by five feet. In a shallow niche sits the Blessed Virgin on a marble throne at the foot of which kneel three donors. The two on our right are recommended by a saint who may be St. Mark, and the one on the left by St. Peter.

There is something at once sumptuous as well as sober in this work. The fulness and severity of the architectural forms, the freedom and simplicity of the arrangement, the measured eloquence of the patron saints, the type of manhood displayed by the donors, all bespeak the approach of that moment in Venetian painting when it was most classical in feeling and in aspect. In contemplating this noble work I feel a pleasure almost as if I were enjoying a façade by Palladio.

Happy accident or strenuous research may reveal some day the identity of the donors. The one on the left suggests Andrea Gritti, the future Doge. All three are clearly people of importance holding high office no doubt, and worthy of being portrayed in a picture like this, which in Ridolfi's and Boschini's days used to hang in the halls of the Doge's Palace at Venice.

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The date of this work is decidedly late, as its most patent qualities and most manifest characteristics show. Coming to particulars, and beginning with the architecture, we observe that the columns before the apse not only are of a very developed form but perfectly detached from the wall. Now I believe that a full column consisting of a plain unadorned shaft, so entirely detached from the wall does not appear in Venetian painting till some few years after 1500. The throne with the globes on its pillars is curious, for it is reminiscent of Antonello. It is singular but not unique, for in the Priulì Triptych (now at Düsseldorf), contemporary with Mr. Walters' altarpiece, we find another throne almost as clearly reminiscent of Antonello. In facial oval the Madonna recalls the one in Don Jaime de Bourbon's panel dated 1509, the one in the Brera dated 1510, and the still later Borghese picture.[1] It is with this last work in particular that the affinities are closest, for they extend beyond facial resemblance to the draping, the folds and the general action of the Child. Another late work recalled by our Madonna is the Murano "Assumption." This same altarpiece, as also the Priuli Triptych,[2] shows us types of saints exactly like the Peter in ours. St. Mark's head, however, is of such advanced character that, seen isolated, it would suggest for its author a follower of Bellini rather than Bellini himself. Finally the

[1] To avoid misunderstandings, I venture to add that in my opinion the only autograph among the works mentioned in this sentence is the Brera "Madonna."

[2] Reproduced, like so many of the works here mentioned, in Dr. Gronau's admirable and inexpensive monograph on the Bellini.

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donors, as we already have observed, are almost of a type of portraiture which is nearly dateless and delocalized. One would be put to it to say to what time and place the two heads on our right, if looked at isolated, belonged. The bearded, short-haired man might be found, I doubt not, in all European climes and periods, and could have walked the streets of Athens, or Alexandria, or Rome, as well as those of Paris, or London, or New York. Compare with these portraits those in the studio picture dated 1507, representing Doge Loredan in the midst of four councillors.[1] How much more generalized are ours, and how much more humanized! To account for the difference, one must conceive that a frontier in time had been passed. As in national boundaries everything on one side instantly tends to resemble the perhaps distant capital, rather than what exists just across the barrier only a stone's throw away, so it is possible that, in social and spiritual evolution, moments come which really do divide age from age: Quattrocento, let us say, from Cinquecento. Nevertheless, even if we allow for such a leap, that too takes time, and we shall not be much out of reckoning if we let several years elapse between the Spiridon portraits and those in Mr. Walters' altarpiece.

Thus all the evidence points to a date for that work not earlier than 1510, the date of the Brera "Madonna." And for reasons it would take too long to state here, as they would involve the full discussion of the Borghese "Madonna," it is probably no later than that picture. It is not utterly impossible, therefore, that the

[1] Now in the Collection of M. Spiridon of Paris.

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date of 1510[1] which Mr. Walters' picture once bore with a false signature may have been based on evidence. It is not inconceivable that the Brera panel was finished early in that year, and ours begun late in the same year.

Having determined the date of this altarpiece, we are in better position to ask who was its executant. That it was Bellini himself I find it hard to believe. Yet I would give readier assent to his having painted it than to its having been done by any of his followers or assistants known to us by name. Least of all would I think of that figment of Dr. Paoletti's fancy, the so-called "Pseudo-Basaiti." Doubtless we who ascribed many of Bellini's studio works to Basaiti were wrong. We were wrong, because, like the altarpiece before us, they were conceived and designed by the great master himself and carried out in his studio under his own eye by assistants who are nameless, although for that reason not necessarily inferior to those of Giovanni's pupils who, after a little learning, quickly set up for themselves. But that is no reason for throwing all these paintings together and assuming that they were from the same hand. In my opinion no two of these pictures are necessarily by the same hand at all, and there is no such an artistic personality as the Pseudo-Basaiti. But of this more elsewhere.

There remains in America yet another picture which might have been discussed in this chapter, for it is the copy of a lost original by Giovanni Bellini. Only, as the copyist happens to have been Giorgione, we shall put off our study of this copy until we come to the younger artist.

[1] Dr. Gronau in *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, p. 96.

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CHAPTER V

THE CONTEMPORARIES OF GIOVANNI BELLINI

THE closest of Giovanni Bellini's contemporaries was naturally his own brother, Gentile Bellini. It would be extremely interesting to know what were their professional relations, and which, if either, was the leading, the more creative spirit. Tradition going back to their own day has it that Gentile was the elder in birth and more theoretical in his art. But his "Madonna" in the Mond Collection, if painted after 1480, as the inscription seems to imply, is the work of a man not more advanced than Giovanni at that date, although at least as accomplished. Nor do his undisputed earlier works, the organ shutters at St. Mark's, or the canvas of 1465 representing the "Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani," furnish grounds for supposing that his was the more innovating, more inventive, more creative mind. Yet ancient traditions are not safely disregarded. In this instance we can neither discard them nor make much use of them, for the materials on which to base a comparison have disappeared, no imaginative compositions having come down from Gentile's later years and none of any other kind (excepting one or two portraits) from Giovanni's. What the existing ma-

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terials enable us to do is to derive an impression, and this, all due allowances being made, is of a difference as between Holbein and Dürer. Catchwords have their uses, and this one will not lead too far astray, namely that Gentile Bellini was, at the very least, the Holbein of Venice, and probably by so much greater as Venetian was greater than German painting.

I

MRS. J. J. CHAPMAN'S "SPOSALIZIO" AND "ADORATION"

In America there is nothing to give one an idea of Gentile Bellini's art, and as he is the rarest of masters there is but a ghost of a chance that we shall ever possess anything of his. In the J. G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia there are three pictures which have a certain connection with him, a portrait of the "Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani," a "Nativity," and the profile bust of a young woman. None are close to him, or throw any light upon him, and I have nothing to add regarding them beyond what I have said in the catalogue of Mr. Johnson's collection, except for a word concerning the Young Woman. Little though there is in a profile of this kind to indicate even to what school it belongs, I hazarded attaching her to the remote following of Gentile, because when I first knew her she was accompanied by a representation of "St. Francis receiving the Stigmata," which reminded me of Gentile's organ shutter at St. Mark's. At the time I did not recall that female portraits, like enough to this one in features, expression, coiffure and costume to confirm

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Fig. 56. FOLLOWER OF THE BELLINI: THE ANNUNCIATION.
Gallery of Turin.

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the attribution to the Venetian school at least, occurred in a "Birth of the Virgin" at Turin. For a reason that will appear presently this picture and its companion, an "Annunciation" (Fig. 56), have a certain claim on our attention.

Both these pictures have been daubed over, but not quite beyond recognition, and they retain something of the simplicity and charm which so especially characterize Venetian narrative painting when nothing in the subject, the place, or the artist's ambition stands in the way. As so few of these more intimate compositions have weathered the centuries these two inspire an interest beyond their intrinsic value, for they help to give a notion of the canvases that decorated the halls of the Venetian mutual aid societies, and of the kind of living and being that corresponded to the middle class ideals of the later XVth Century.

Our interest here, however, is to place and to date them. In the "Birth" (Photo. Anderson 17207), the types, the costumes, and the patterns on the stuffs, all point toward the eighth decade of the century. The hoods of the women appearing on the left recall those of Giovanni Bellini's "Madonna" in the Frizzoni and in the former Sigmaringen Collections, which, as we decided, were scarcely earlier than 1475. In the spirited and beautiful "Annunciation," the face and dress of the Blessed Virgin remind me of the Madonna in Mantegna's "Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple." Her hand resembles one in the Frizzoni "Madonna" just referred to. Her faldstool and the vase are almost identical with those in the "Annuncia-

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tion" now in the Vienna Academy, which was executed in Giovanni Bellini's studio for the *Carità* soon after 1470,[1] except that the vase holds instead of lilies a small tree. Now my impression is that the vase with a tree growing out of it was introduced to Venice by Antonello da Messina. Should that prove correct, our canvas could not be dated earlier than 1475. The angel's hair and dress are later than in the Vienna lunette just referred to, and his wings, both for shape and fulness of feathers, remind me of Antonello again.

If our analysis of these two compositions at Turin may be trusted, they were painted scarcely earlier than 1475 by a follower of Giovanni Bellini who almost certainly was acquainted with the works of Mantegna and probably of Antonello as well.

The reason we had for speaking of them here is that two companion pictures (Fig. 57 and 58), may be seen in the collection of Mrs. John Jay Chapman at Barrytown-on-Hudson. These represent the "Marriage of the Virgin" and the "Adoration of the Magi."[2]

The first of these represents the ceremony taking place in the open air in front of an arched niche which frames in, emphasizes and isolates the three principal figures, the priest presented in a severely frontal pose, with his beard of Byzantine and patriarchal length, the still youthful Virgin, and the elderly Joseph. On our right is a group of women, and on the left, another of rejected suitors. Hills form the background.

[1] Reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for Sept., 1915.

[2] Reproduced in Ludwig and Molwenti's "Carpaccio," "The Marriage" as plate 7, and "The Adoration" as plate 165. The latter is also reproduced in Testi's Storia della Pitturia Veneta, II, p. 273.

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Fig. 57. FOLLOWER OF THE BELLINI: SPOSALIZIO.
Collection of Mrs. John Jay Chapman, Barrytown-on-Hudson.

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Fig. 58. FOLLOWER OF THE BELLINI: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Collection of Mrs. John Jay Chapman, Barrytown-on-Hudson.

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One is reminded here of the narrative pictures from the studio of Antonio Vivarini in the Walters Collection, and indeed the difference in artistic intention could not have been great. Less repainted than the Turin compositions, the women's faces and the folds of their draperies are more reminiscent of Jacopo Bellini. On the other hand, the group of gallants and the landscape behind them, with its great crag, almost unmistakably echo the hunting scene and other frescoes by Mantegna in the *Camera degli Sposi* at Mantua. Now it is naturally the latest authentic element in a work of art which determines its earliest possible date, and as the Mantegnas referred to were scarcely painted before 1473-4 our composition can be no earlier. Allowing for a certain time to elapse between the execution of these frescoes and their becoming known in Venice, we easily reach 1475, which is the date we thought of assigning to the Turin pictures.

The "Adoration of the Magi" is a well grouped, relatively quiet scene taking place as usual in the open air. The three principal figures are placed as in Jacopo Bellini and his master Gentile da Fabriano. The attendant figures are more independently conceived. The turbaned mage and something in the landscape remind me of Mansueti, for which reason, when I first knew them some fourteen years ago, I was inclined to ascribe this and the other composition to him. Since then, happily, I have learnt to inquire more carefully into chronological probabilities, to try to determine, in the first place, when a work of art must have been conceived and executed, and then whether the result fits in with the

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date of the author to whom we would ascribe it. In this case it fails to harmonize, for we concluded that these paintings and their companions in Turin need not, and I believe it could be demonstrated, could not be placed later than about 1475, and Mansueti at the time was a child of six or seven.

Yet the reminder of Mansueti is there, and must be accounted for. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that the turbaned head and the landscape having been entrusted to Mansueti for restoration were replaced by him in his manner—as indeed was the custom then.

All three canvases, Mrs. Chapman's as well as those at Turin, at one time belonged to a dealer at Chioggia named Natale Schiavoni, who had still four others, and claimed that they had come from the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista.* Should the other four come to light again, they will doubtless furnish material for passing a more accurate conclusion regarding their origin. But whatever they may reveal, it is clear, that they will never lend support to the opinions of those who would attribute them to Jacopo Bellini. Apart from all questions of a more æsthetic and intellectual nature, dates alone speak against this unhappy guess, for Jacopo was dead in 1470 and these canvases were not painted till five or six years later. Assuming even that these were the paintings seen by Ridofi in the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista,* his word has no authority, for tradition regarding the XVth century had, in his time, two centuries later, got garbled or grown mute.

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II

LAZZARO BASTIANI

In a temporal sense the closest of Giovanni Bellini's contemporaries was Lazzaro Bastiani. Born some years earlier, Lazzaro lived till 1512. The archives explored first by Dr. Paoletti di Oswaldo and, on his lead, by Dr. Ludwig, yielded a number of documents regarding his family, and his private life, but, as usual, much less about his career, although enough to prove that he enjoyed a certain vogue, with consequent honours and emoluments. Meanwhile his works had not remained unknown to us. I remember being much interested in them long before the scholars above mentioned had begun their praiseworthy researches. I regarded them for all their occasional attractiveness, and for all the joy of discovering one after another for myself, as the achievements of a feebly endowed artist with little if any independence, imitating one after the other of the more gifted men of his day, when their talents had made imitating them worth while.

It was perhaps inevitable that people employing all their energies in archives, and inexperienced in the complicated, Protean, subtle problems incidental to the study of the work of art and its creator, should have said to themselves that a painter who lived so long and enjoyed such esteem must really have been a "brilliant artist" and one of the dominant influences in the schools of his time.

It would, however, be hard to qualify the result.

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In its most accessible form we find it in a bulky, and sumptuous volume wherein Dr. Ludwig having parted company with Dr. Paoletti, and acquired the invaluable aid of Signor Molmenti's fluent pen, treats of Carpaccio. It is a book for whose existence we are grateful, as it contains a number of interesting reproductions, and much collateral information. But the earnest student must be warned against accepting without the most searching criticism any of its attributions, estimates, inferences or conclusions. Not that they are infallibly untrustworthy; but nearly so.

It is comforting to see that few if any of them have been accepted by responsible scholarship. With regard to one point alone does an idea of Dr. Paoletti's, cherished by Dr. Ludwig and pleaded by Signor Molmenti, seem to have found favour, and it is that not Gentile Bellini, as I and my elders and betters before me concluded, but Lazzaro Bastiani was the real master of Carpaccio.

I cannot believe that students of such high standing or great promise as the Venturis, father and son, would have accepted this view if they had devoted to the subject their usually careful and independent study.

This is scarcely the occasion to argue the matter to the end. It must suffice to indicate the main heads. It is in the first place a matter of chronology. Is it certain, for instance, that where Lazzaro resembles Carpaccio closely he was the earlier? In my opinion Dr. Ludwig has not succeeded in proving one instance of priority on the part of Lazzaro over Carpaccio. But if abler and better equipped critics could establish such

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a case, it would not yet follow that the younger owed anything to the older man; for it first would have to be demonstrated that their resemblances were due to Lazzaro and Lazzaro only, and not, as I among others believe, to their common source Gentile Bellini. It surely is unthinkable that Lazzaro, who imitates the Vivarini, imitates and flagrantly copies Giovanni Bellini, imitates Antonello, and Alvise (and when I say imitate, I mean more or less slavishly,) should not have imitated Gentile.

The only extant works of Lazzaro which are so close to Carpaccio that, if painted earlier, they might seem to have inspired the latter, are the two at Vienna representing the "Last Communion" and the "Funeral of St. Jerome." But such is our ignorance of Lazzaro's chronology, and such the ups and downs and lack of evolution and organic sequence to his career, that, despite their singular crudity, it does not follow that they were not painted very late, and after Carpaccio had finished his for the *Scuola degli Schiavoni.* Dr. Ludwig's only reason for assigning them to the decade between 1470 and 1480, is that "about the year 1470 Lazzaro was enrolled . . . a member of the Confraternity of S. Girolamo." This is no reason at all, for there is no necessary connection between the election to a confraternity and instant (or indeed any) employment therein, for that did not depend on membership. But admitting that these compositions were earlier and even considerably earlier than Carpaccio, it yet does not follow that Lazzaro himself did not here imitate inventions by Gentile, now lost. To me, with, on the one

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hand, my knowledge of what a dependent creature Lazzaro was, and, on the other, my sense of the relation between creative capacity and executive skill, it is incredible that he should have out of his own head contrived compositions even as rudimentary as these.

The inexperienced student, however, may ask how it happens that an artist so inconsiderable as Lazzaro should have enjoyed so great a contemporary reputation. There are many valid reasons. Here are a few. The public at all times and in all places likes eclectic and imitative artists who, by seeming to reconcile the old and the new, do not give too sudden shocks to its taste. The same public, finding difficulty in judging a new artist, clings to the one it knows already, with growing esteem, as his age increases—and Lazzaro lived to be almost ninety. Furthermore personal and political reasons may play their part; and finally there is the reason of reasons, the rarity at all times and in all places of great artists. We think of Venice as teeming with genius. Very well: there were in the second half of the XVth Century the two Bellinis, Carpaccio and Cima. Add gifted provincials like Mantegna and Bonsignori who occasionally worked there, and even the second-rate Alvise, and you have exhausted the list of painters of mark. But there was much work to be done, and it is pitiful to what mediocre men Venice had recourse. But for the good traditions of the school, and the glamour everything of the Renaissance has for us, we should find them quite as life-diminishing as the average exhibitor of to-day. Students of Florentine Art will not fail to recall that a man like Neri di Bicci, Lazzaro's

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FIG. 59. LAZZARO BASTIANI: THE ANNUNCIATION.
Collection of Mr. Hervey Wetzel, Boston.

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nearest Tuscan parallel as an artist, enjoyed a similar popularity in Florence.

The attempt to hoist these mediocrities into fame—however richly documented their mediocrity may be—must be discouraged, if we are to use our studies for their one justifiable purpose, the refining and advancement of taste.

In America we have only one unquestionable work by Lazzaro, an "Annunciation" (Fig. 59), belonging to Mr. Hervey Wetzel of Boston. In a rather forbidding courtyard behind a colonnade, Our Lady kneels at her faldstool, while the Angel comes forward with his message and the Dove flutters toward her. She has the shaved forehead, that was the fashion in the middle decades of the XVth Century, and her halo is like a shallow goblet. The angel wears a cope, which is a Flemish rather than an Italian trait. The figures are not unpleasantly silhouetted, but the folds of the Angel's skirt are lamentable. The architecture, on the other hand, is done with care and success, and the colour is agreeable.

It is far from easy to place this picture, for Lazzaro's career has no discoverable logic of sequence. His earliest dated work is the sub-mediocre "Madonna with Saints and a Donor" of 1484, at Murano. I am not at all sure that any of his extant paintings are of an earlier period. If we regarded the Virgin's forehead alone we should be justified in dating this canvas earlier, but the columns with their sculptured bases and carved belts, seem to belong to the later decades of the century. So much, however, is probable; that this "Annuncia-

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tion" is earlier than the one in the Correr Museum or the one at Kloster Neuburg, or the "Annunciation" at Padua.

The features of the Virgin and the cope of the Angel lead me to wonder whether this picture was not painted for a German. That would account for the old-fashioned, somewhat Cranach-like profile of the one and the un-Italian garb of the other, for both might have been ordered expressly, the profile being perhaps a portrait.

In the collection of Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia, there are two small paintings (Fig. 60), representing the martyrdom of a saint, perhaps James. In the catalogue of that collection I said:—"Obviously these panels were painted by a Venetian of the XVth Century. They combine unusual freedom of handling with painstaking elaboration of perspective. The costumes, in so far as they are contemporary, are of about 1500, and so are the windows of the tower. The types and movements of the figures echo Carpaccio in the 'St. Ursula' series and Gentile Bellini in his 'Corpus Domini Procession.' At first glance these spirited and brilliantly coloured little paintings suggested Lazzaro Sebastiani, and it remains true that of all known masters it is to him they stand closest. But that pitifully dull and timid craftsman is, in no other work correctly ascribed to him, half so vivid or a quarter so ready. Should further knowledge justify this tentative attribution, we should at the same time raise Lazzaro a step in our esteem, and possess flagrant proof of his imitating the much younger Carpaccio." I have nothing to add

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Fig. 60. Lazzaro Bastiani (?): Scene of Martyrdom.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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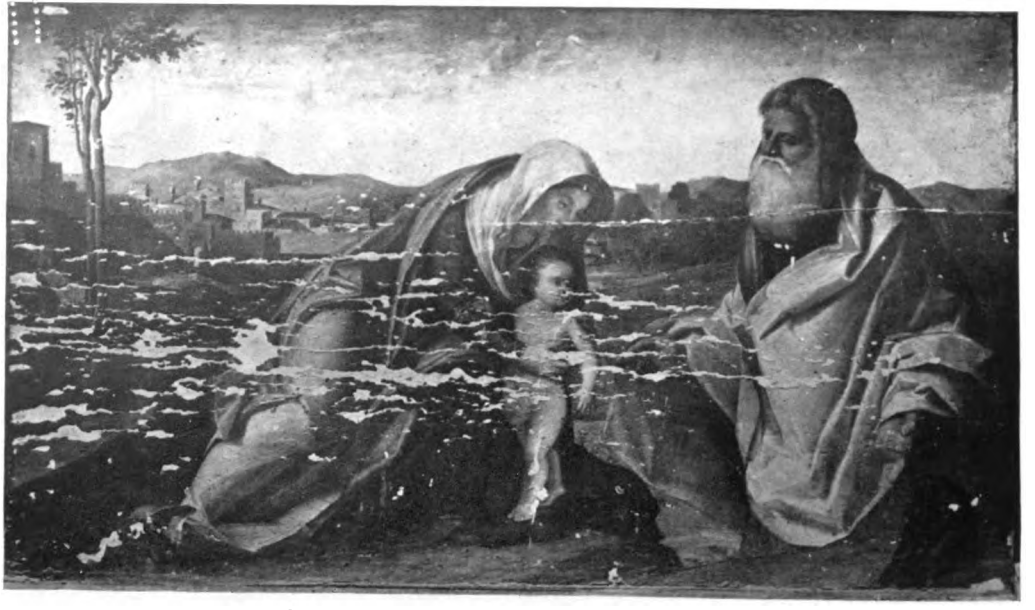

FIG. 61. BENEDETTO DIANA: HOLY FAMILY.
Collection of Mrs. Frederick S. Van Urk, Kalamazoo.

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now except that such an interest in perspective as is betrayed here (especially striking in the burial scene,) would be most unexpected in an artist of about seventy, which was Lazzaro's age at the time these panels must have been painted.

III

BENEDETTO DIANA

Lazzaro had for pupil not Carpaccio, but a painter more on his own level, altho' still his superior, Benedetto Diana. This modest claim of Dr. Ludwig for his hero we can safely grant. Diana merits interest because on one occasion he rose to a height so far above his usual mediocrity. It was when, inspired by the example of Giovanni Bellini, he painted the stately and gorgeous "Christ at Emmaus" still to be seen at San Salvatore in Venice.

I possess a photograph sent me by Mrs. Frederic S. Van Urk of Kalamazoo, of a picture (Fig. 61), belonging to her. I have never seen the original, but the reproduction reveals the types, the mannerisms, and the formula of Diana in his more attractive phase. The composition of this "Holy Family" is not commonplace, for the Madonna stoops as if to snatch the Child from the ground, and these two figures with the draperies are a variation on the theme studied by Leonardo and Raphael and culminating in Andrea del Sarto's *"Madonna del Sacco,"* the theme of a mass as compact as possible keeping close to the ground. But the male figure, disproportioned and rising inexplicably out of

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the earth, makes one question whether Diana had any conscious understanding of the motive, or whether, like Lotto, whom he at times recalls, he was simply following a wayward fancy. Be that as it may, this oblong design with its low and level horizon, its quiet group of buildings, its spacious foreground, its unhackneyed attitudes, and its crepuscular light, is redolent of Venetian art in its idyllic aspect.

For which reason I am inclined to regard it as an achievement of Diana's advanced maturity. Yet we may date it not much later than 1505. The Duke of Portland owns a "Madonna with two female Saints and a Donor" which resembles ours so closely that they must have left the painter's hand at about the same time.[1] The donor's type and dress and hair belong to the first decade of the XVIth Century. It is interesting to note that the Child, the trees, and the buildings still recall Lazzaro.

IV

CARPACCIO

Like his master, Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio seems to have been first and foremost an historical painter, a master of narration, and compositions from his hand of the easel picture type are infrequent. For this reason his works out of Venice are exceedingly rare. It is fortunate, therefore, that in America we have two and probably three paintings of his, each showing him in a different phase of his activity.

[1] Reproduced as plate XXXIII in The Catalogue of the Venetian Exhibition of 1912 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

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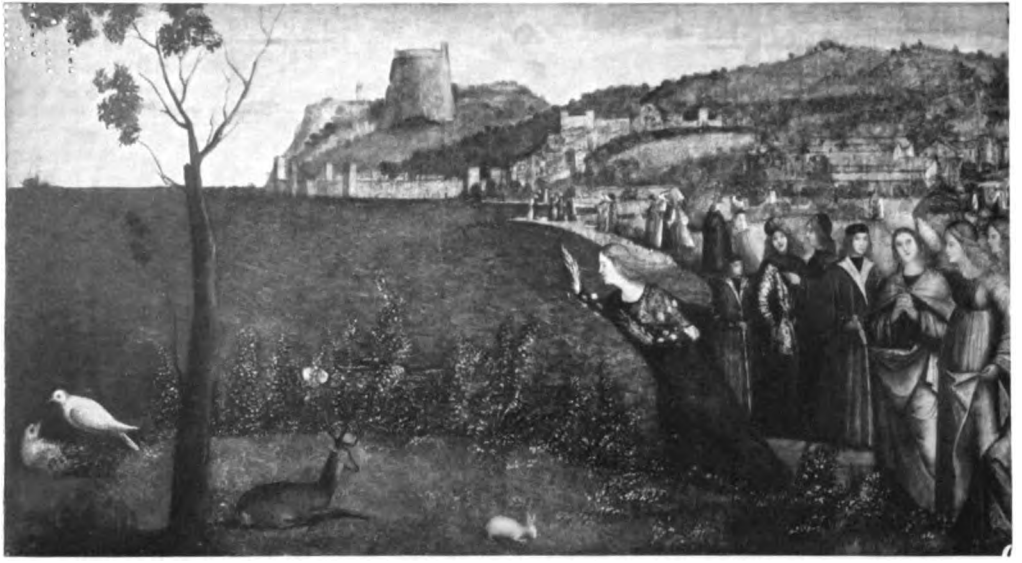

Fig 62. CARPACCIO: STORY OF ALCYONE.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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The earliest in date and the most typical is a sadly ruined oblong canvas (Fig. 62), which once upon a time belonged to Ruskin, the writer to whom, more than to all others, Carpaccio owes his present fame. It represents the story of Alcyone who rushes forward, her hands already turned to claws, to throw herself into the sea where floats the body of her husband. It is so much like the enchanting paintings of the "St. Ursula" series, with their gaiety, sprightliness, vivacity and gorgeousness, that beyond question it was created in the same mood. Indeed, one can be even more precise and say that it probably was conceived and executed at the time that the artist was at work upon the "Departure of Ursula" which is dated 1495. The view of the headland and open sea, with that look of the sky over a marine horizon which Venetian painters of the Giorgionesque period rendered so evocatively, adds to our acquaintance with Carpaccio as a landscape painter, and to our admiration of his lyrical gifts.

Some ten years later, while he was at work upon the fascinating designs at *S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni,* where his genius still retains nearly all its freshness, and exuberance and buoyancy, and where his touch at times is as exquisite as one will ever see, he found the leisure to design, if not to execute, the series now scattered of the "Life of the Virgin," and to do with his own hands canvases like the spacious and sumptuous "Nativity" belonging to Lord Berwick, and the "Repose of the Dead Saviour" acquired not too long ago for the Berlin Gallery, and furthermore the arresting,

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impressive *"Pietà"* (Fig. 63), more recently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

This masterpiece, the discovery and attribution of which we owe to Sir Claude Phillips, is by him entitled "a Meditation on the Passion." For people not so familiar as they should be with Carpaccio, it stands so apart from the artist's works that even professional students have been impelled to ascribe it to Giovanni Bellini. I need not argue with them, but refer them to Sir Claude's informing, convincing, exhaustive article (Burlington Magazine XIX, p. 144) where, indeed, he has anticipated all I have to say on even my pet hobby of chronology. He brings it into connection with the Berlin "Madonna with two Saints" as well as with the "Repose" there, and with the "St. George fighting the Dragon" at the Schiavoni, concluding upon 1505 or so as the probable date. Not to throw away all the material I have collected, I will jot down a few odds and ends to supplement Sir Claude's convincing arguments.

The dead Saviour, although His body has every accent and touch of Carpaccio, is yet the element of this work which makes one think most of Giovanni Bellini. Quite naturally, for the feeling and action were both inspired by some such a *"Pietà"* of Bellini's as the one now at Berlin. Yet the all but identical figure occurs in a *"Pietà"* by Carpaccio, more Bellinesque than ever in design and sentiment, where, nevertheless, the two angels are indisputably and obviously his. As this beautiful work is little known, I reproduce it here (Fig. 64), with the kind permission of its owner, Count

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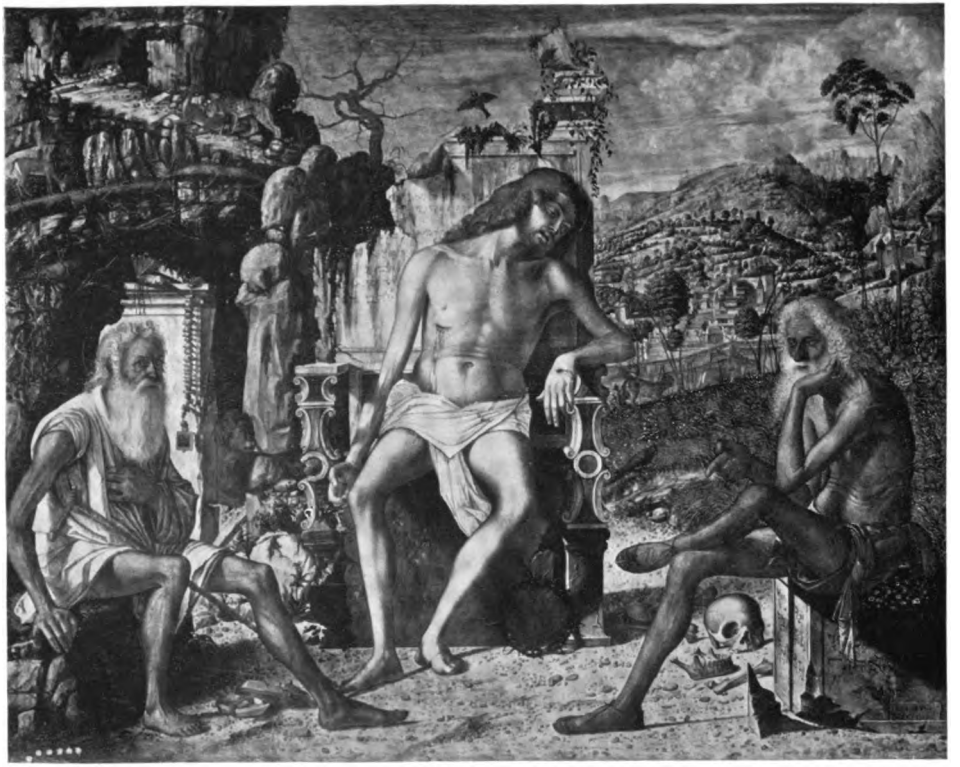

Fig. 63. CARPACCIO: "A MEDITATION ON THE PASSION."
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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Fig. 64. CARPACCIO: PIETÀ
Collection of Count Serristori, Florence.

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Serristori of Florence. It is earlier than ours, and less generalized in form.

The Saint who faces Jerome is in every probability Onofrio. He frequently appears as a pendant to the great Church Father when the latter is represented as a desert anchorite. An instance that comes to my mind off hand is found in one of Montagna's altarpieces at Vicenza. As for the St. Jerome, Sir Claude points out his identity with the same saint in the Berlin "Madonna." I would further adduce the Jerome, who, with slight alterations in the way of softening the figures, appears in Lord Berwick's "Nativity" of 1508.[1] To return for an instant to the Berlin "Madonna" it shows on the hill to the left a castle with projecting round towers exactly like the one that appears in the "St. George and Dragon," the canvas which has so much to connect it with the Berlin "Repose" and our "Meditation." The volutes and curves on the shattered throne wherein Our Lord reclines may be seen most conspicuously in the "Marriage of the Virgin" (Brera), a painting of the same date as the last of the *Schiavoni* compositions. This canvas, too, contains in a tablet Hebrew inscriptions identical with some of those in the New York picture.

A word about these inscriptions and I shall have done. They should be submitted to the careful attention of a student of Hebrew epigraphy. They may yield results not devoid of interest. As for me, I

[1] This date is usually read as 1505, because the three parallel strokes after the V have almost disappeared. They can still be descried however, and besides, the placing of the letters on the cartel leaves no doubt that they were intended to be there.

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timidly and humbly venture to suggest that the square block on which Onofrio sits, contains, just above the false signature of Mantegna, the genuine signature of Carpaccio. Although in Hebrew letters wayward and much disguised, I read the possible equivalent of VICTOR SACARPAT.

In the collection of Mr. Robert S. Minturn of New York, there is a "Madonna with SS. Nicolas and Jerome" (Fig. 65), which it is exceedingly, almost bafflingly hard to place exactly. That this picture is very close to Carpaccio is obvious. The question is, how close—close enough for his own, or not?

The design is as unusual as it is attractive, for the large pheasant that looks up at the Child gives to the composition a touch of Oriental splendour, while supplying, by its shape and colour, a much needed support for the somewhat conical mass formed by the Virgin. The colour is sober but warm. The feeling is, for a Carpacciesque work, unexpectedly intense.

The pattern and action of the Virgin and the Child are taken from or suggested by some such Madonna of Giovanni Bellini's Antonellesque period as is reproduced by Teniers in a painting at the Brussels Gallery representing a section of the Archduke Leopold's Collection.[1] In type, however, neither is Bellinesque, and as for the two saints they are unmistakably Carpacciesque, the Jerome in particular. His head resembles

[1] A version of this, or possibly the picture itself in ruined condition, forms part of the recent Gallicioli donation to the Bergamo Gallery.

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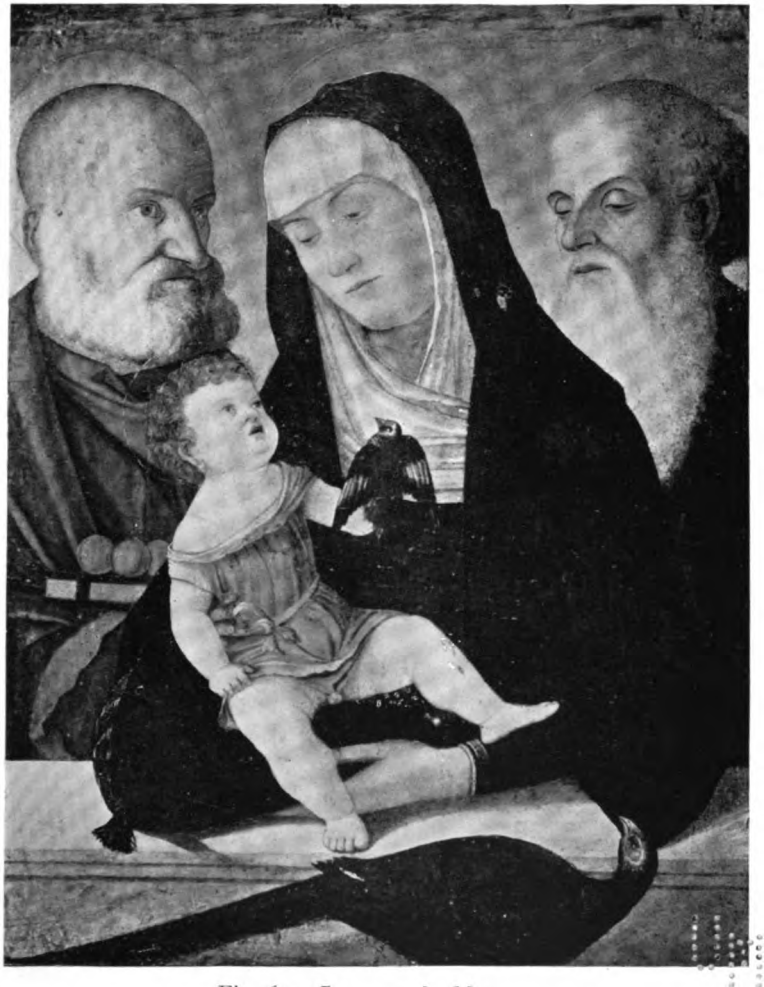

Fig. 65. CARPACCIO?: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Robert S. Minturn, New York.

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many a one in Victor's paintings of the first decade of the XVIth Century. The Nicolas, on the other hand, is so individualized as to suggest a definite, perhaps a portrait model. He recalls one or two of the figures surrounding the Saviour in an early Carpaccio belonging to Mr. Thomas Brocklebank (The Roscote, Heswell, Cheshire). But the arrangement of the three figures, with the heads so close to each other and on a level, is Giorgionesque and points again to a date after 1500.

Carpaccio's authentic Madonnas are so rare that terms of comparison are wanting. The Child's action recalls the one in the Berlin picture, but the Virgin herself not at all. It should be noted, however, that that Virgin is so little our artist's conventional type that critics who go chiefly by striking resemblances of type, question whether she is by him. Ours has a certain likeness to the "Madonna" in the *Schiavoni* altarpiece, a ruined work designed at least and probably executed by Carpaccio toward 1510. In expression and in certain features of her face, there are reminders also of the Christ in the "Precious Blood" at Vienna. All in all, however, the breadth of the design, the fulness of the Virgin's oval, and the patriarchal distinction of the Jerome make it probable that this picture was conceived by the artist not much before his supreme achievement, "The Presentation of the Holy Child," dated 1510.

But did Victor execute this distinguished impressive work? I confess I find it hard to say why I hesitate to affirm it. Everything is his, form, colour, mannerisms,

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his spirit, his art; and yet I find a certain flatness, and a certain dryness which prevent my getting the sensation of certainty. I prefer nevertheless to give it the benefit of the doubt, and to include it in the canon of Carpaccio. Above all, let no serious student think of ascribing it to his son, Benedetto, known to us only in stupid, bulging, empty works, dating twenty and thirty years later, but harking back to his father's *Schiavoni* "Madonna," and to the "Presentation of the Holy Child." It should be borne in mind that a picture is not necessarily by the son simply because one suspects it of not being by his father.

FOLLOWING OF CARPACCIO

Thus in the Walters Collection at Baltimore, there is a "Holy Family" (Fig. 66). It is clearly Carpacciesque, but has nothing in common with the authentic remains of Benedetto.

The Virgin, in dress of brocade, and in ample mantle, sits behind a parapet, silhouetted grandly against the landscape, while the Child is about to stroke her cheek, and Joseph looks on. The colour is warm, fused and flat, the drawing is precise, the modelling is carried out a little more in light and shade than Carpaccio was wont to do. The mass, but for the Joseph, would be very successful in its pyramidal tendency.

Yet Carpacciesque as it is on the whole, and overwhelmingly, there is something in the modelling of the Virgin's face, in the shape and action of her left hand,

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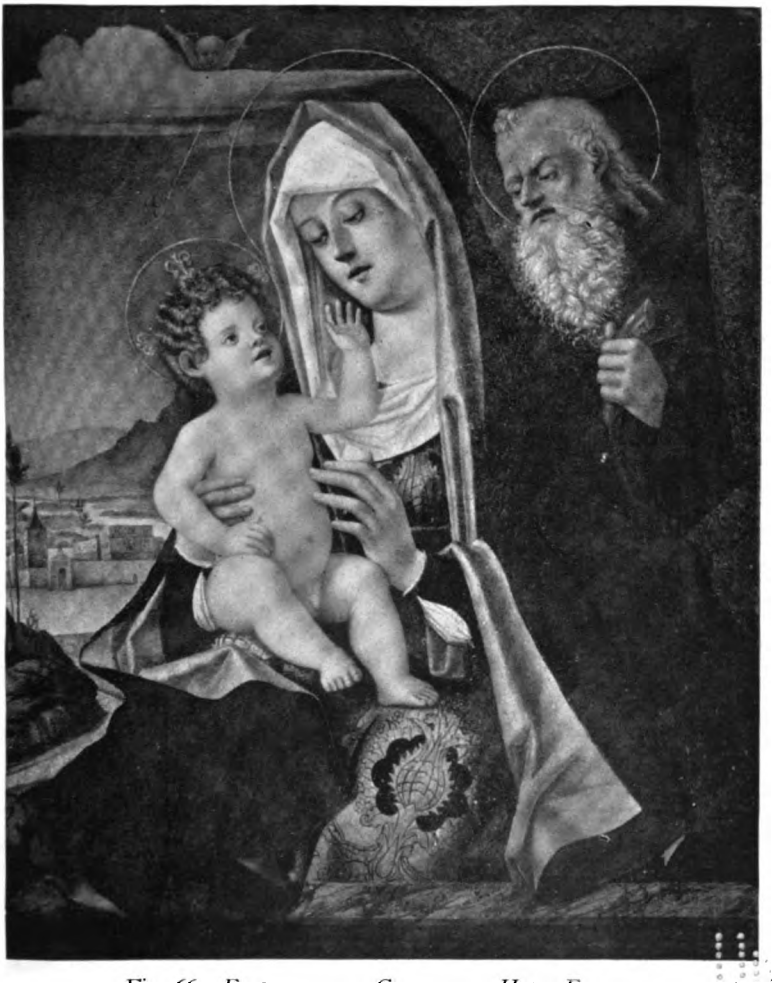

Fig. 66. FOLLOWING OF CARPACCIO: HOLY FAMILY.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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and in the Child as well, which distinctly suggest Cima da Conegliano. And indeed it takes but little reflection to recognize that the author of Mr. Walters' "Holy Family" had in mind the action of Cima's most beautiful "Madonna," the one formerly in the Abdy Collection and now belonging to Mr. Tuck of Paris, which we shall reproduce and study later. Cima painted his picture about 1495, but that offers no clue as to how much later ours may be, for the former was known in many versions. Indeed, it may as well have been one of these that our painter had in mind, rather than the original, of which he imitates nothing but the action and, to a minor degree, the modelling; and such a version he may have seen at any time. I suspect, however, that it can not be much later than 1500. His massing and placing are much more impressive than in the prototype, so impressive that it led me when I first saw it many years ago to ascribe it to Bonconsiglio, perhaps because it vaguely suggested his sublime *"Pietà."* Of course this attribution does not hold. All one can conclude is that the author was a pupil of Carpaccio influenced by Cima's art. An analogous picture representing the Virgin and Child adored by the Infant John, and accompanied by a female and an old male Saint, exists, or *did exist*, in the Museum of Douai, where it was ascribed to Bellini.

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Besides Benedetto, Victor Carpaccio had a son named Pietro, and his name also has been bandied about in guessing matches. As a matter of fact we have not hitherto known a single authentic work of his. In the collection of Mr. Walters, however, there happens to be a panel (Fig. 67), which in every probability is really his. It enables us to frame a notion regarding him based on something sounder than freakish inference.

The painting in question represents "St. George fighting the Dragon." It is oblong, as Venetian narrative compositions were apt to be, and the armoured rider instead of charging full tilt at the monster, as in both of Victor's representations of the subject, careers his horse and lifts his sword to hack away at the beast. The action is scarcely an improvement, but it is interesting to observe that instead of following in his father's footsteps, Pietro here at least, imitates very closely a design by Basaiti now in the Venice Academy. This is dated 1520, and is itself inspired by Victor, but has too much unity of purpose to make it in the least likely that the reverse was the case, and that Basaiti copied Pietro.[1] In the landscape as well there are striking resemblances, only that ours, with its more horizontal lines of the horse and the hills, is much more in accordance with the Carpacciesque formula. On a tree stump

[1] That this treatment of the subject, due perhaps to a lost work of Giovanni Bellini's, found favour we may infer from the fact that it was followed by that popular complier Girolamo S. Croce in a painting now at Stockholm.

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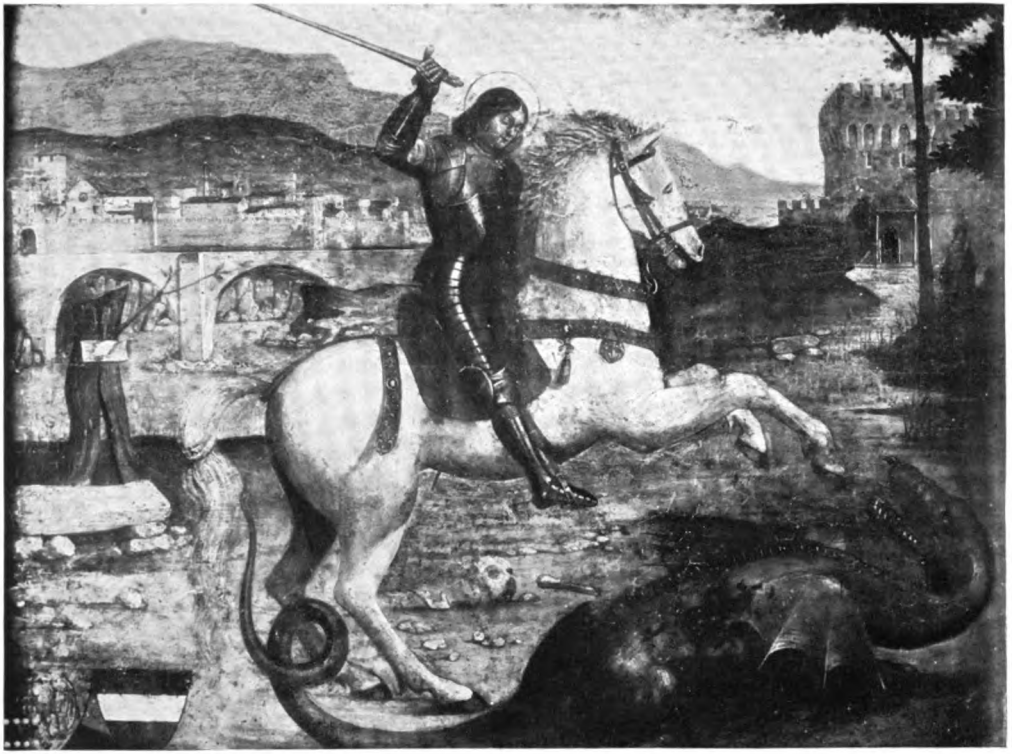

Fig. 67. PIETRO CARPACCIO (?): ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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to our left we read on a tablet the words *Petrus Venetus*. It scarcely is hazarding too much to conjecture that this Petrus, who remains so Carpacciesque even while imitating Basaiti, is none other than Pietro, the son of Victor. Although not devoid of a certain charm, it is a mediocre performance, and has been restored not too well, but it will suffice to prevent the conscientious student from attributing to the same hand genuine works of the great Carpaccio, like the "Madonna with SS. Jerome and Catherine" of Berlin, or pleasant school pictures, such as the Madonna with the same Saints at Carlsruhe.

V

ANTONELLO AGAIN

In the rest of this chapter we shall discuss Alvise Vivarini, Montagna, Cima da Conegliano and Bonsignori. The last three not only were fairly close contemporaries, but had much in common, owing something to Alvise, who was about ten years their elder, but, along with him, much to Giovanni Bellini and as much to Antonello. Indeed, the chief characteristic of all the contemporaries of Giovanni is their heavy indebtedness to the great Sicilian. It is considerable in Lazzaro Sebastiani, and even, on one occasion, in Carpaccio. Thus, in the "Madonna" at S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, the throne, the draperies and the arrangement are all but copies from Antonello: from some such picture, perhaps, as the one at Vienna regarding which we have already said that it may be a ruined fragment of the lost S. Cassiano altarpiece. It is not probable however,

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that, excepting Alvise, any of the masters we shall study in the rest of this chapter were personally acquainted with Antonello. They were almost certainly too young to have known him during the year 1475 which he spent in Venice. It was rather from the works he left behind there that they drew their inspiration. We have in Tuscany the parallel case of Masaccio, whose paintings were assiduously studied for a century.

Five and twenty years ago I refused to take account of the tradition regarding Antonello's commanding position in Venetian painting, because I could see no palpable proof of it. And, in truth, at that time only a few portraits and the two "Crucifixions" at Antwerp and London passed unchallenged as his handiwork. The exquisite "St. Jerome" as well as the Dresden "St. Sebastian" were little known and still under discussion, the sublime Correr *"Pietà"* was regarded as Bellini's, the Benson "Madonna" was passing for a Fogolino, and the "Virgin's Annunciate" of Palermo and Munich, as well as Antonello's most considerable work the "Annunciation" now at Syracuse, had not yet been heard of. Now certain features, properties and traits which all these new works make it easy to lead back to Antonello abounded in Alvise Vivarini, and so with the simplicism of youth I attributed to this master a dominating influence, not indeed so ludicrously groundless as that which Paoletti and Ludwig invented for Lazzaro Sebastiani, yet one which my further studies have nevertheless tended to diminish and disprove.

Both as a creator and as a teacher Alvise collapses to

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a very secondary personality. I need say no more here, for I already have published recantations, which the reader will find in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts,*[1] and in the third series of my "Study and Criticism of Italian Art."

Before we begin to examine the paintings of Alvise, Bonsignori, Montagna and Cima that we happen to have in America, I should like to tabulate a certain number of peculiarities which may indicate that the picture in which they occur was designed under the direct or indirect influence of Antonello.

1. A decided tendency toward conical or pyramidal masses and shapes (as in his Messina "Madonna," Palermo "Annunziata," Benson "Madonna," Dresden "St. Sebastian," etc.).

2. Squarish thrones with globes on the arms.

3. Knees of sitting figures rather wide apart with the draperies drawn across diagonally, and the folds in a sprawling meander over the feet.

4. Small folds in the shape of loops like isosceles triangles, and creases in draperies taking the place of folds.

5. Creased curtains, creased linen or damask, and creased cartels for signatures.

6. Flat cushions, particularly when under the feet of the Madonna.

7. Dwarfed trees in vases or pots.

8. In colour, a preference for pale cool tones (as in the Dresden "St. Sebastian").

[1] *La Sainte Justine de la collection Bagatti-Valsecchi.* June, 1913. *Une Madonne d'Antonello da Messina.* March, 1913.

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9. In surface, a tendency toward a high polish (as in many of his portraits).

I would not be taken to mean that any one of these items, or even all of them combined, are a necessary and mechanical proof of Antonello's influence. Yet in any work in which these features occur even singly, not to say in numbers, it would be certainly safer, before denying it, to make sure that this influence could not have been exerted. Each of them, it is true, may be discovered earlier in Venice, but they all grew singularly more frequent there after Antonello.

Antonello's influence may further be traced in a tendency towards certain facial ovals, resembling the rather homely one of his Benson "Madonna" or the more geometrical one of the Dresden "Sebastian" (The latter, however, leaves one doubting whether it be not in turn, influenced by Bellini). Then there is a certain portrait type, energetic, and emphatic, known to all. Finally there is the use of heavy brocades, which may have been made much more fashionable by Antonello.

We shall now turn to Alvise Vivarini.

VI

ALVISE VIVARINI

In the Walters Collection at Baltimore there is a "Madonna" (Fig. 68), who is seen between a green curtain and a parapet upon which, with her right hand she supports the Child erect on a cushion. He blesses with His divine right hand, but with His human left

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Fig. 68. ALVISE VIVARINI: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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He pulls a bird by a string. It is only a quite average achievement by Alvise, but it is very characteristic. Nothing, for instance, could be more peculiar to him than the drawing and modelling of the nose and nostrils. Only less so, because found as well in his teachers and close followers, are the eyes, with the pupils rolled down to the lower lid. The date is not hard to determine, for this panel must have been painted between the Naples Triptych of 1485 and the National Gallery "Madonna." The latter, however, is of no later date than 1488, for in 1489 was designed that Vienna "Madonna" which was the precursor of Alvise's one popular work, the Redentore "Madonna and Angels." But judging by the S. Giovanni and Bragora "Madonna," which preceded the Vienna one, as it in turn was preceded by the National Gallery one, the interval that elapsed between the last two could have been scarcely less than two years. At the same rate of progress our "Madonna" must have been painted late in 1486. It is curious that after the wretched picture at Barletta of 1483 and the poor one at Naples of 1485, Alvise should have executed his best work, the earlier Berlin altarpiece, and then dropped back again directly to the mediocrity of the "Madonna" here. It is a case of ups and downs extremely rare in artists whose reputations have weathered the centuries.

Except in the triangular folds visible above the Virgin's left wrist, there happens to be little direct trace of Antonello's influence in Mr. Walters' "Madonna." There is, naturally, more of the Sicilian, renowned

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above all for his portraits, in the Head (Fig. 69), by Alvise of a smooth shaved elderly Venetian belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia. Although painted after 1490, as the cap and hair indicate, this hale and lively presentation is still distinctly Antonellesque. It is not to be compared with such beautiful studies as that of a boy in the Salting Bequest of the National Gallery, or in Baron Schickler's Collection at Paris, but holds its own with any other portrait the attribution of which to Alvise is beyond legitimate doubt.

VII

BONSIGNORI

At this point it will be convenient to speak of Francesco Bonsignori. Although a Veronese by birth, and first trained, no doubt, by a Mantegnesque compatriot, and later in life himself sucked into the current of Mantegna, he was for some years in his early manhood so strongly influenced by the Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini as to count among the Venetians. His paintings of those years betray, too, as is natural, a certain acquaintance with Antonello, but far less than we shall find in the works of Montagna or Cima.

In America we have five heads of his, four of them portraits. Three of these are in the clear, incisive, energetic style of design and presentation which very likely accounted for the great favour they enjoyed at the court of Mantua.

The earliest of them, probably, is the bust of an elderly man belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson of Phila-

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Fig. 69. ALVISE VIVARINI: HEAD OF A MAN.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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Fig. 70. Francesco Bonsignori: Head of a Warrior.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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delphia. I refer to the catalogue of that collection for a reproduction. It has the directness, firmness and decisiveness of the best XVth Century portraiture in or out of Italy. Its attribution is based on a comparison with the signed "Head of a Venetian Senator" in the National Gallery. Ours, however, is of a deeper tone, more like the general harmony of the polyptych in S. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. It is therefore earlier than the "Senator," which is dated 1487. Another consideration helping to fix the date is that Bonsignori's portraits during their author's middle years, tend to become more and more Mantegnesque, more linear in method and larger in scale. Mr. Johnson's is the least Mantegnesque in all these respects, and for this reason we may safely place it at the beginning of the series, although after the likeness of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga at Bergamo.

The next in date is the "Head of a Warrior" (Fig. 70), in Mr. Walters' Collection at Baltimore, perhaps the most closely characterized, firmest and best constructed of Bonsignori's portraits. In colour too, it is the most vigorous. Its attribution cannot be subject to dispute, for everything about it witnesses to the mind and hand of the master. It remains relatively light in colour, and we should therefore place it before the "Senator" of 1487. The vein running from the cheek down to the throat, instead of being ignored, is insisted upon in a way that reminds one of the extravagantly prominent veins in the figures of the Polyptych referred to in the last paragraph. We may take it that ours was done soon after that. As for the identity of

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the person represented, I have failed to make it out. He probably was connected with the court of Mantua.

The most imposing of Bonsignori's portraits is one of an elderly warrior of commanding personality and great force (Fig. 71), in the Widener Collection near Philadelphia. It is so loose and free in drawing and so large in scale that I take it to be of a date later than the "Senator" of 1487. The stiff flat-topped hat may already have been too much out of fashion to be worn even by an elderly man. It is possible, therefore, that this likeness was done not after life but after an earlier effigy. Here, again, there is no clue to identify the person represented, but it is even more probable that he belonged to the court of Mantua. One is tempted to believe that he was a Gonzaga.[1] To a date considerably later, perhaps twenty years later, belongs another, the bust in the Walters Collection (Fig. 72), the fourth of Bonsignori's portraits in America. It is in quite a different style from the first three, not at all so linear, more modelled in light and shade, softer and less incisive in handling. The artist is here interested in the psychology of his sitter; it is a rendering of character subtle, reflective and discriminating. We should find no serious difficulty in conversing with him, whereas the obstacles to any communion between us and the two warriors would most likely be insurmountable. That this portrait is nevertheless by Bonsignori there can be no reasonable doubt. Despite differences, the mapping of the face, the modelling, and the shape of the

[1] The attribution and the false signature are discussed in my "Lorenzo Lotto," 2d ed., p. 42.

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FIG. 71. FRANCESCO BONSIGNORI: BUST OF A WARRIOR.
Collection of Mr. Joseph Widener, Philadelphia.

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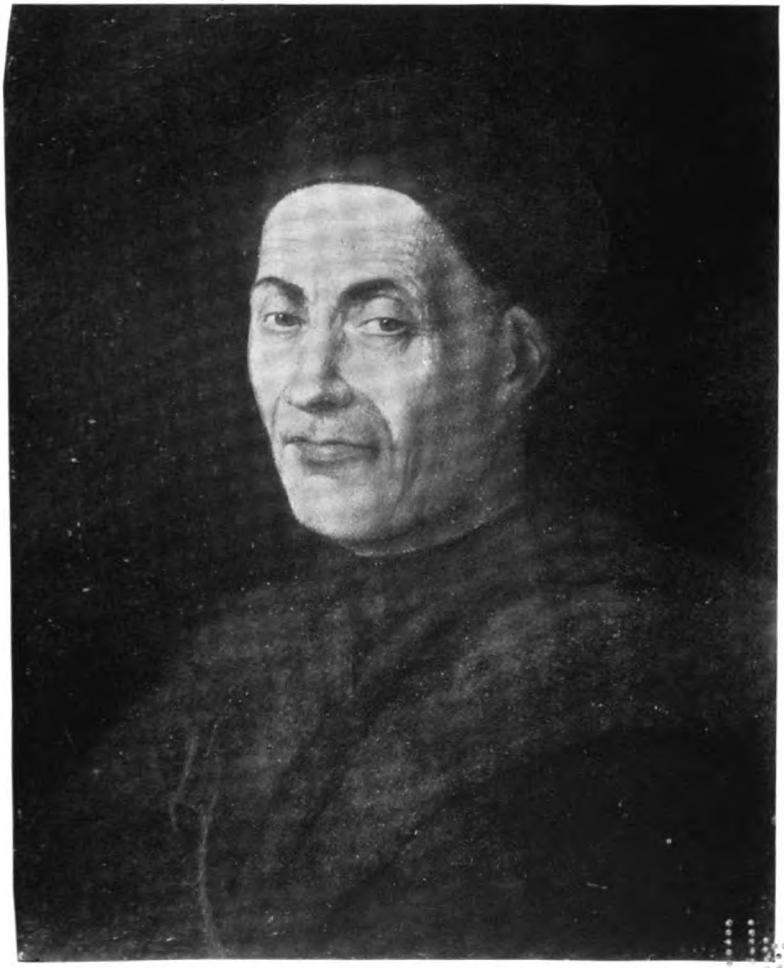

Fig. 72. FRANCESCO BONSIGNORI: MALE PORTRAIT.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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ear are his, and the more modern, more humane type is paralleled by the monk in the "Madonna and Saints" of the Layard Bequest in the National Gallery, an obviously late achievement.

The fifth Bonsignori in our collections, belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson, is an even later work than the last, for if I mistake not, it already betrays the influence of Lorenzo Costa who came to Mantua to replace Mantegna in 1507. It is the bust of the boy Saviour seen behind a parapet on which His hand is resting. But for the halo and the tunic, I should be tempted to regard it as a possible likeness of Federigo Gonzaga as a boy, of that Federigo whose portrait by Francia is now in the Altman Bequest of the Metropolitan Museum. It is signed with the initials F. B. A fuller discussion and a reproduction will be found in Mr. Johnson's catalogue.

VIII

MONTAGNA

Few other Madonnas have more of the restrained pathos, and earnestness as well as the humanity of Giovanni Bellini's Virgins, than those of Bartolommeo Montagna. Their author was one of the most impressive and inspiring of old masters, and I note with great satisfaction that our collectors have appreciated him. Italy apart, no country in Europe has more of his art than we already have in America. It is satisfactory likewise that the sacred subjects here are all from his golden decade. The others are portraits which, on

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account of their rarity among his works we should welcome even if they were less admirable than they are.

The golden decade I refer to was from 1480 to 1490. During those years Montagna painted nearly all his grandest if not his most grandiose works, austere yet sumptuous, splendid, yet of cool, pearly tone and transparent colouring. But even this decade did not end without premonition of the blight that was going to make his paintings increasingly disagreeable, even when their design remained magnificent. They began to be visited by scorching blasts which finally grew insufferable. Bricky reds, and other hot colours, soot and grime, seem to have covered them. No doubt much of our present sensation is due to pigments gone wrong, but that is no excuse here any more than it is in the somewhat parallel case of Tintoretto. Then, too, a certain slovenliness in composition set in, which ended in a design so unworthy of a great artist as the fresco of 1512 at the Santo in Padua. To this may be added weaknesses of drawing, and clumsiness of setting and arrangement, as in the even later altarpiece at S. Maria in Vanzo, in Padua. Perhaps Montagna paid too dear a price for such imposing effects as strut in his Brera masterpiece of 1499. It is the most Signorellesque design in Northern Italy, and the coincidence is curious, for Luca and Bartolommeo both ended as execrable colourists.

The date of his birth is unknown and his latest and completest biographer, Dr. Tancred Borenius[1] will

[1] "The Painters of Vicenza," London, 1909, a scholarly and amiable book, one of the very few that have appeared in the last twenty years which the

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not commit himself to a statement more precise than sometime before 1460. But as he enjoyed enough fame in 1482 to be invited, provincial though he was, living in a provincial town, to do important work in Venice itself, we shall scarcely be rash in putting his birth back as far at least as 1455. This is a point of some interest to me, as I can not help thinking that he must have come under Giovanni Bellini's influence toward 1475. My reason is that looking at the heroic, austere figures of the latter's Pesaro "Coronation" I have always been struck by their singular resemblance to certain of Montagna's. It is also true that, until the other day, many of us were inclined to ascribe to him that Vatican *"Pietà"* which as has recently been proved by Dr. Frizzoni, originally formed part of the Pesaro Bellini. Dr. Borenius may well congratulate himself on not having shared our error though, perhaps, no work not by Montagna bears so close a resemblance to his style. If we might assume that he was born as early as 1455, it would become possible to believe that he came in personal contact with Antonello during the

student of Venetian art need consider. I do not always agree with Dr. Borenius' chronology. Thus he would place the S. Giovanni Ilarione altarpiece with the earliest works, soon after 1480 therefore, but it certainly belongs some twenty years later. On the other hand, he would make the Belluno Madonna with the standing Child contemporary with the Brera altarpiece of 1499, whereas it appears to me to be of the same date as the former S. Bartolommeo altarpiece at Vicenza, which I place with the earliest works and scarcely later than 1481. Again, Dr. Borenius disputes the traditional date, 1490 namely, of the altarpiece in the Certosa di Pavia which he would place later. I think it borne out by internal evidence, and correct. With his attributions, on the other hand, I am in much closer agreement. I dissent from him, however, when he takes away from Montagna the important if rather ruined altarpiece of 1497 at Highnam Court, and the "Christ between Sebastian and Roch" of the Venice Academy.

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latter's visit to Venice in 1475. I should like to believe it, for in many of his earliest works that have come down to us (none, however, dating before 1480), Montagna is Antonellesque in a way and to a degree that might imply acquaintance with Antonello himself and not only with the few works that this artist could have left behind during his brief visit to Venice. It is to be feared, however, that even if we grant the earlier date of his birth, Montagna was, nevertheless, too young and undeveloped to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered, and that it took him, as it seems to have taken nearly everybody excepting Giovanni Bellini himself, several years to wake up to the Sicilian's genius and to learn to profit by it.

I could wish that we owned a Montagna as palpably, obviously Antonellesque as the "Madonna" in the National Gallery, which it was the fashion, when I began my studies, to ascribe to Fogolino; [1] or as patently Bellinesque as the one in the late Sir Wm. Farrer's Collection, or Madonnas like the one at Belluno and at Lord Zouche's which are the next of kin to Bartolommeo's greatest as well as earliest achievement, the S. Bartolommeo altarpiece at Vincenza. None of our

[1] Reproduced in Venturi VII, part IV, p. 444. In the same volume will be found most of Montagna's works. The National Gallery "Madonna" which, after the Farrer "Madonna" is Bartolommeo's earliest extant painting, was done by a man who had acquaintance with works by Antonello like the Palermo "Virgin Annunciate," and above all with Mr. Benson's "Madonna." It was no doubt the striking resemblance that led us to consent to the guess that the last named was by Fogolino. To this residuary legatee of all puzzling paintings showing a vague Antonello-Montagnesque character Prof. Venturi in the same volume p. 648, figure 417, attributes the "Madonna" in the Vienna Museum which has been frequently referred to here as exceedingly close to Antonello himself.

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Fig. 73. BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA: MADONNA.
Museum, Worcester, Mass.

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Madonnas either goes back to so early a date—not later than 1483—or shows such manifest signs of indebtedness to Bellini, and even more particularly to Antonello.

In the earliest Montagna in American possession, the Antonellesque influence can scarcely be felt. It is there, but it would be hazardous to decide, if we had no other information, whether it was direct or derived from Bellini in his own Antonellesque phase—that creative period between 1475 and 1480.

This earliest of our Madonnas, however, if not obviously is yet distinctly Bellinesque. It is a panel (Fig. 73), which not long ago passed from the collection of N. D. Fanny Vaeni, at Venice, into the Museum of Worcester, Mass. The Blessed Virgin is seen against a dark background. In front is a parapet upon which rests a book. In both her arms she tenderly holds the Child, with her hands pressed against His naked body, while He clings to her with His right arm around her neck. The mantle, which is thrown back from the elbows, reveals a richly brocaded dress. The Virgin, in place of the conventional halo, has a radiant light streaming from her head, and her grave yet serious face with its large eyes looks as if she were listening and thinking.

I am tempted to believe that a "Madonna" with the same motive by Giovanni Bellini must have existed and inspired this painting, for it is impossible that he who was so much interested in the theme of the Mother and Child, had not hit upon this arrangement. Among the extant works of his Antonellesque period the nearest to

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the Worcester Mantegna is the Berlin variant of the S. Maria dell'Orto panel, (Gronau "Bellini" p. 75). The masses of the two groups, the action, the brocades, the slashed sleeves, have much in common, only that ours tends to a volume more compact, more pyramidal, (more Antonellesque that is to say), as we find in Bellini himself in the Rovigo and Bergamo Gallicioli "Madonnas."

These Bellini panels, however, were painted between 1476 and 1479, while ours is of a decade later, and this fact tends to confirm the conclusion that it really was during the years following directly upon the Pesaro "Coronation" that Montagna frequented Bellini. The contact must have been pretty close if its effects not only outlasted the absorption in Antonello but remained so vivid after ten years. We have still to give a proof, however, that the date assigned to the Worcester "Madonna" is the correct one.

In brief, it is this. Our Virgin is in facial type closest of all to the one in the collection of the late Miss Hertz, but already suggests the Vicenza "Nativity," the Brera "Madonna with Francis and Bernardine," the J. G. Johnson altarpiece at Philadelphia, and the "Madonna with Onofrio and the Baptist" at Vicenza again. These altarpieces in the order mentioned were painted, as I venture to think I can prove, not earlier than 1488 and not later than 1490. But the Hertz "Madonna" which preceded the Worcester one followed in turn the Bergamo "Madonna with Roch and Sebastian" dated 1487. That ours really belongs between the last named and the group of altarpieces

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Fig. 74. BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA: MADONNA.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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just referred to is further shown by the fact that the type of Child with a rather ugly nose and rusty look in the eyes, the defects of which we scarcely feel as yet, has got much more disagreeable in the Brera one, and persists in two other "Madonnas" of the same period, the one in the Verona Gallery, and the other in Mr. D. F. Platt's collection at Englewood. We may conclude therefore that the date of 1488 for the Worcester "Madonna" can not be far out.

It is a curious coincidence that of all Montagna's works known to me the next in date to the Worcester painting is a "Madonna" (Fig. 74), in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. She appears behind a ledge upon which the Child is sitting, with His hands about her arm, looking up at her, while she, with hands crossed over her breast, looks lovingly but gravely at Him. Over the Worcester panel with its blind background this has the great advantage of a background of beautiful landscape. It is a typical one. The tone is pearly and cool.

Here again, one is tempted to suspect a Bellinesque prototype, altho' the Madonna with her more geometrical volume, and crossed hands is closer than the last to Antonello as, for instance, in his Munich "Virgin Annunciate."

Its affinities with the Hertz picture are manifest, in sentiment, type and background. I am inclined nevertheless to place it not next to it but after the Worcester "Madonna." My chief reason is that our "Madonna" is followed closest by the one recently acquired by Mr. Henry Walters, which work, besides having much

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in common with ours, anticipates quite as much in Bartolommeo's altarpieces and panels already mentioned as belonging to 1488-1490. The Walters panel, for instance, is the earliest in which we find the reds and the dark shadows which rendered our painter's late works less and less pleasant.

Within a year after the Metropolitan Museum "Madonna," Montagna must have painted the altarpiece now belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson, which, as I learn from Dr. Borenius, comes from S. Maria dei Servi at Vicenza. On a tessellated platform in a spacious landscape stretching to mountains and jagged crags, the Blessed Virgin sits enthroned, with the Child on her knee, while the heroic figure of St. Lucy, and the somewhat senile one of Nicholas of Barì keep watch and ward.[1] It is a pattern of sweet simplicity, a tale told a thousand times, but of which, when well told as here, one never tires.

It fits in, in every way, between the "Nativity" and the "Madonna with Onofrio and the Baptist" at Vicenza. The Lucy here is nearly the figure of the Magdalen in the "Nativity." Our Madonna resembles those in both, as well as the one in the earlier Brera altarpiece already referred to. The landscape suggests a "Madonna" in the Verona Gallery which for independent reasons can be assigned to 1489-1490. The Child, however, harks back to the one in the Bergamo painting of 1487. That Mr. Johnson's picture is nevertheless later is proved not only by the heavier

[1] Reproduced and more fully described in the catalogue of the collection. Also in Venturi *op. cit.*

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colouring—Lucy is dressed in brick-red—but by the crude fact that the Nicolas quite patently was suggested by the Saints in Bellini's Frari Triptych of 1488. Internal evidence leads me to conclude that our altarpiece must have been painted some time in 1489.

It is during those years that Montagna first shows unmistakable signs of contact with Alvise. The St. Clara in the Vicenza "Nativity" recalls more than one of the latter's Abbesses, and the Blessed Virgin in the Caregiani "Madonna with the Baptist and Francis" was surely designed by one acquainted with Alvise's Redentore "Madonna"; but in Mr. Johnson's altarpiece there is as yet no trace of this. It was a passing contact without great effect. Alvise never had the influence over Bartolommeo which twenty-five years ago I imagined him to exert over many Venetian painters. On the other hand, chronology and every consideration besides, render Morelli's notion that Carpaccio was Montagna's master quite absurd. The works of the sculptor Bellano, however, seem to have affected him towards and after 1490, if we may judge by the silhouetting and relief, as well as subtler traits in some of his paintings of that period, particularly in the Certosa di Pavia altarpiece of that precise year. The St. Lucy in Mr. Johnson's panel reminds one vividly of the one in Bonsignori's altarpiece at S. Paolo in Verona, and reminds us at the same time of the connection I suspect there must have been between them in their earliest days at Verona, under Domenico Morone or some other Mantegnesque artist of that town. It is likely, by the way, that Montagna's hot colouring may be due

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to a Veronese germ which had the same corrupting effect on a number of the painters of Verona just before and for a time after 1500—in fact until the great Paul climbed up into a cool, clear, silver world again.

Cursory mention has just been made of the Caregiani "Madonna with the Baptist and St. Francis."[1] It is a noble work of great distinction and suavity. The Blessed Virgin herself is presented in a rigidly frontal pose, rare in Venetian painting of the late Quattrocento. In this respect, as well as in the oval of her face and the still Antonellesque volume of her draped figure, she evidently was inspired, as already observed, by Alvise's Redentore "Madonna." As that can be dated late in 1489, or early in the following year, Montagna's can be no earlier. On the other hand, without reference to the Redentore prototype, I should not place it later than the Certosa altarpiece of 1490,[2] for after that the Child that we found in the Hertz Madonna never appears again, nor the gently billowed creasings of the curtain.

If we have gone out of our way to mention the Caregiani picture, it is because it helps us to understand and date a "Madonna" (Fig. 75), belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt, of Englewood, N. J. The Blessed Virgin is seen between a parapet on which sits the Child, and a low

[1] Reproduced in Venturi VII. part 4, p. 463, and better in *l'Arte* VII, p. 73.

[2] Dr. Borenius disputes the traditional date of this work, which he thinks later. But its architecture, silhouetting, and tonality are just what they should be for 1490, and the Madonna's right hand, with the thumb turned back, is still Antonellesque, as in the early National Gallery and Belluno "Madonnas," while the head of the Child, scanned very closely, is nearer to those in the paintings of this moment than to any elsewhere. In fact, the Virgin herself is but a variant upon a very early one at Belluno.

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Fig. 75. BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellowes Platt, Englewood, N. J.

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wall against a hilly horizon. Her look is abstracted as she clasps Him with both hands—much as in the Worcester picture. He rests one hand in her neckerchief as if it were a sling and the other He presses on a book. Evidently the artist, after designing the Caregiani picture, desiring to keep the position of the Child's right arm as unaltered as possible, while changing the rest, produced Mr. Platt's "Madonna." Independently of this consideration, however, I should place her after the Caregiani picture and yet before the Certosa altarpiece, for while the action and oval of the Madonna's head and the head of the Child as well are very close to those in that work, the volume is still Antonellesque, while the pattern of the whole and the action of the Child are Bellinesque. Mr. Platt's panel can thus be dated as 1490. It is to be hoped that the hand and wrist on the book are not as they looked when they left Montagna's studio.

There are no other Madonnas of his, that I know of in our collections. Before turning to his two portraits, I wish to draw attention to the fact that results from our examination of his works up to this point. It is that Montagna, although working in Vicenza, kept closely in touch with Venice. Thus, his first and greatest masterpiece, in S. Bartolommeo at Vicenza, could not have been painted a year after Bellini's S. Giobbe one; the one we saw at Mr. J. G. Johnson's not a year later than the same artist's Frari Triptych; and the Caregiani "Madonna," again, not a year later than Alvise's Redentore "Madonna."

The more interesting of his two portraits in Ameri-

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can possession is the one of a lady represented as St. Giustina of Padua with a dagger in her breast, (Fig. 76), in the Altman Bequest of the Metropolitan Museum. In the Hainauer Collection whence it came it was ascribed to Lorenzo Costa, but I do not fear that my attribution to Montagna will be disputed. I will not attempt to describe or characterize the portrait, for the reproduction will tell the student more than I could. The costume and hair are of the first decade of the XVIth Century, but I am inclined to think not quite Venetian. Now everything in this panel connects it with Montagna's paintings at Verona of 1504-1506, and I suspect we shall not be far out if we assume that it was painted there during those years.

It was not uncommon to let one's self be portrayed under the guise of some saintly person. Here, however, the disguise was merely perfunctory and superficial, for the elaboration of the costume and hair and the jewels contradict the knife and the palm. Those of us, however, who are intimately acquainted with Montagna's types from toward 1500 for some six or seven years, may well ask what, after deducting all that is specifically characteristic of him, remains of the sitter. But if that question were asked before every portrait, modern as well as ancient, surprisingly few would leave more of a residue of objectivity than this.

The other head is in Mr. J. G. Johnson's Collection at Philadelphia and represents the profile of a Benedictine Monk with hands folded in prayer. I must again refer the student to the catalogue of that collection, where they will find it described and reproduced.

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Fig. 76. BARTOLOMMEO MONTAGNA: PORTRAIT OF LADY REPRESENTED AS ST. JUSTINE OF PADUA.
Altman Bequest, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art, New York.

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Fig. 77. SPERANZA: THE SAVIOUR BLESSING.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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I said there "The mask is as plastic, as vigorous, and as detailed as the portraits of Bonzes carved in Japan some few centures ago." The colouring and the technique incline one to date it toward 1510.

SPERANZA

Montagna had a considerable following, yet excepting Buonconsiglio, with his touch of the Byronic revealed so surprisingly in his all but sublime "Deposition" at Vicenza, and in the Layard head of a demonic Christ, none of them would be worth studying but for the need of distinguishing between their best and Montagna's worst. When I was young it was the fashion, for instance, to ascribe any and every Montagna that did not please one to Speranza. Thus, the National Gallery "Madonna" (No. 1098) of about 1489, and the *"Noli me Tangere"* of a few years later, now at Berlin, used to be assigned to him by eminent connoisseurs, and quite recently Dr. Borenius was tempted to attribute to him the altarpiece of 1497 at Highnam Court, somewhat ruined but signed, dated, and in every way, save for its repainting, acceptable as Montagna's.

For this reason, and because his authentic works are extremely rare, every signed painting by Speranza is welcome, apart from any question of its own intrinsic merit. There is such a painting (Fig. 77), in the Walters Collection at Baltimore. It shows against a dark background a head of the Saviour slightly turned to right, with His right hand blessing. I confess that, but for the signature, it would take no little trouble to

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hit upon the author of this design, with its vague reminders of portraits by Giorgione and the young Titian. It is nevertheless based upon a picture with the same subject by Montagna, which is dated 1502, and was until the other day in the Delaroff Collection.[1] I suspect this imitation was made some years later, for, as just said, it betrays a good deal of Giorgionesque inspiration. Singular that a tenth-rate artist, when in the twenties, should be so sensitive to the new, when an all but first-rate man in the fifties was not. Montagna's works betray no sign at any time of their author's acquaintance with Giorgione.

IX

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

After Giovanni Bellini and Carpaccio and before Giorgione, the best beloved painter of Venice remains Cima da Conegliano. No wonder, for no other master of that time paints so well the pearly hazes that model the Italian landscape with a peculiar lightness and breadth. He calls up memories of hours spent among the foothills of Alps and Apennines, cool and covered with violet grey mist. His castles, his streams and his foliage have the same gift of recalling and even communicating pleasant states of body and mind. His figures are severe and

[1] Reproduced in Sale catalogue (No. 229) and in d'Arte 1912, p. 129, as well as in the delightful and invaluable Russian monthly, *Starye Gody*, June, 1912, opp. p. 6.

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chaste but seldom morose, and occasionally they have quivering nostrils and mouths of surprising sensitiveness. I seem to recognize in his women a kinship to certain of ours, produced by generations of Puritanic repression and selection and rebellion.

So much for Cima's character as an illustrator. Judged by the requirements of decoration, he stands only under Bellini. He is a draughtsman of strenuous and exquisite precision, with a sense of line scarcely surpassed in Venice. His colouring is transparent, cool, pearly, and nevertheless seldom if ever cold or harsh. His modelling is firm, at times rather suggesting porcelain. Yet he has neither the abandon of a Carpaccio nor the intimacy of a Giovanni Bellini. He remains more external, more schematic, as if he constructed rather than created his figures; and in this, as in certain other respects, resembles Mantegna. Nor indeed was he so unlearned and unintellectual in the pursuit of his art as is often supposed. Antiquity for instance, was not a matter of indifference to him; he is the first Venetian to practice *contrapposto e. g.* the Parma altarpiece with Andrew and Michael—; and to my knowledge, if he did not invent, quite early in his career he introduced the motive of the Child addressing Himself to one side and the Virgin to the other of the company present—a motive which was destined to such magnificent developments during the next two generations. Whatever may be the intrinsic value as pure art of these innovations, a man who was among the first, if not the first, to use them must have had (for a Venetian) a most unusual awareness of the specific

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problems raised by his art. On the other hand, he was as little of a narrator as the Bellini, and scarcely more dramatic, while his range was much narrower.

His earliest dated work, the altarpiece of 1489 at Vicenza, reveals, as is scarcely the case with the earliest work of any other master, the talent, the character and the quality of a whole career. It is true that he was about thirty at the time, but then we have no painting more youthful by any other of the great Quattrocento Venetians. Quite likely none of the extant panels by Giovanni Bellini were designed before he was thirty, but what a gulf between them and his masterpieces of about 1487; whereas the differences between the Cima of 1489 and the Cima of the last important picture, the Brera "St. Peter" of 1516, are relatively slight, altho' the same number of years had elapsed.

His chronology is therefore exceedingly hard to determine. Students. who had not made a special and serious business of it, might easily confuse early with late works, or the opposite. It is like those rivers where you can scarcely distinguish between upstream and downstream. Yet the effort must be made, not only as a duty to one's profession, and for sport, but also because certain questions depend for their answers on points of date. They are concerned to some extent, as we shall see, with Cima's origins, but more still with his putative offspring.

In general, Cima tends to get more atmospheric as he advances, to envelope his figures more, to be more detailed in his landscape and to get more coloured. Toward 1510, when he was about fifty, he begins to

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Fig. 78. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA.
Art Museum, Detroit, Mich.

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show signs of decline, due probably to failing health, which was prophetic of his death some seven years later. But even in those failing years he painted masterpieces like the Arcadian altarpiece of the Louvre, the "Tobias" of the Venice Academy and the "St. Peter" of the Brera. The drawing, however, is frequently enfeebled, and the colouring occasionally over enamelled and almost harsh. Yet, even then, in no well preserved autograph work, is he perfunctory, nor does he fail of his atmospheric effects.

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We can scarcely hope at this late day to acquire for America anything like the great altarpieces which reveal Cima at his completest; but short of such masterpieces, he is already well represented in our collections, and happily with works of varying style, earliest as well as latest.

The earliest painting by Cima that I have come across is a "Madonna" (Fig. 78), in the Public Gallery of Detroit, Michigan. The Blessed Virgin, a compact figure, like a well composed bust on a pedestal, is seen between a curtain and a parapet on which sits the Holy Child. He tries to attract her attention by touching her hands folded in prayer. His halo is unique and singular for it is made up of twigs. In the background appears a cliff of horizontal masses of rock. On the parapet we read in broad, square Roman capitals:—*Joannes Bta Coneglanensis.*

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Even without a signature, the oval, the hands and the modelling would have made it easy to recognize this painting as Cima's. On the other hand, it is outside of the ordinary canon of his works, so that we are obliged to place it earlier than the earliest usually recognized hitherto, that is to say the Vicenza altarpiece of 1489. This is a conclusion we are driven to by the fact that never again is Cima at once so Antonellesque and so Bellinesque. The sculptural compactness already noted, the pyramidal mass of the two figures, the conical effect of the Virgin alone, betray the strong influence of Antonello, while the type and action of the Child, and the feeling of the whole witness no less to contact with Bellini. We are reminded of the series of the last named artist's "Madonnas" painted between 1480 and 1485, which we had occasion to discuss in a previous chapter, and particularly of the one in the Metropolitan Museum.

When I first saw this picture in 1902, I jotted down in my notes that it was "like an early Montagna." It is even more like the Vicentine painter's work than I could have demonstrated at that time, for then I was not acquainted with his "Madonna" of the Metropolitan Museum and of the one recently acquired by Mr. Walters, both so singularly resembling ours in feeling, composition and action. These striking resemblances may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Montagna, like Cima, was formed by Bellini while this genius felt the inspiration of Antonello, and passed on its influence to his ablest followers. In that case they could scarcely have avoided acquaintance with

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one another, and must have affected each other. If we turn back to the last section where we studied the chronology of Montagna, we shall find that we dated the Metropolitan and Walters "Madonnas" as of 1488. It is a curious coincidence that the Detroit Cima, so close to those two designs, should be of about the same time, for the advance visible in his Vicenza altarpiece of 1489 requires that a year or two at least should have elapsed between it and ours

In 1905 Dr. Rudolf Burckhardt published a monograph on Cima. It is a constructive æsthetic appreciation worthy of the author's great namesake Jacob, and of Wöfflin, Jacob's pupil and his own master. It is full, too, of important information culled from inscriptions and archives, but is not quite so praiseworthy in its connoisseurship, altho' always modest, reasonable, and totally devoid of charlatanism. Owing no doubt to the many excellent and even beautiful qualities of his study, a suggestion of Dr. Burckhardt's as to Cima's beginnings met with a success that on other grounds it would be hard to explain. The suggestion was that Montagna was Cima's first master.

Now I wonder whether such an idea would have occurred to Dr. Burckhardt, if Cima's earliest dated work at present known, did not happen to have been painted for Vicenza. As a matter of fact, there is no reason why it need have been painted on the spot, since it is on canvas. The exact contrary, indeed, may be inferred, for in 1489 altarpieces were still painted on wood, and probably never on canvas except for some definite reason, such as the greater facility of transport.

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It would seem more than likely, therefore, that Cima executed this work elsewhere. Just where is not certain, but it was probably in Venice, and for the following reasons. The dominant visible influence is Bellini's and the Madonna and Child betray acquaintance with his Frari Triptych of 1488 and with the lost original of the "Madonna" of which the copy by Tacconi dated 1489 is now in the National Gallery. Cima's acquaintance with these designs almost directly they were completed may be taken as proof that he was seeing Bellini frequently, and therefore that he was already established in Venice, for the Vicenza altarpiece dated March 1, 1489, must have been begun some time in 1488, while the "Madonnas" by Bellini just mentioned were probably still in that master's studio.

I confess that with the best will in the world I can discover nothing specifically Montagnesque in Cima's Vicenza altarpiece, nor the slightest proof that Cima was even in a limited sense Montagna's pupil. They have much in common, owing to their common devotion to Bellini and Antonello, but their tendencies were widely different. The chief differences are perhaps that Montagna silhouettes and is more Bellinesque, while Cima is more severely geometrical, models much more carefully in the round, and is more intimately Antonellesque. Indeed there is no other artist of eminence who so much as Cima deserves the title of Antonello's heir and successor.[1] Of course I am speaking of both as Decorators and not as Illustrators.

[1] In the Miglionico Polyptych of 1499 the Virgin Annunciate still has her hands crossed over her breast, as in Antonello.

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And yet there exists a certain resemblance between Cima's Detroit "Madonna" and the Montagnas of the Metropolitan Museum and the Walters Collection which implies perhaps more than a common training. We may infer a certain contact between them—which indeed easily could have taken place in Venice. Only it seems more probable that the leading spirit was Cima and not Montagna. Thus it is likely that, of the three pictures just referred to, the one by Cima is the earliest. It seems to have made a definite impression on Montagna, for his "Madonna" at Lord Lucas', painted after 1500, is still reminiscent of it. Cima's Vicenza altarpiece too, must have remained an object of admiration to Montagna, for his "Jerome" in the Venice Academy altarpiece of 1507 as also the whole design of the still later one at S. Corona in Vicenza are evidently traced upon Cima's lines. Of the "St. James" I find reminiscences in such Montagnas as the Bellinesque "Christ bearing the Cross," of after 1500, in the Vicenza Gallery. Dr. Borenius, believing the St. Giovanni Ilarione panel to be a very early Montagna, thought it was the inspiration of Cima's first dated altarpiece. For myself, I see no connection between the two works, despite the obvious fact that both contain four figures and show foliage above a high wall. But assuming that one of these works was indebted to the other, it was Montagna's to Cima's, for the S. Giovanni Ilarione altarpiece could not have been designed earlier than toward 1500. Dr. Burckhardt sees a great likeness between the St. Sebastian in Cima's Olera Polyptych and the one in Montagna's Bergamo panel

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of 1487. The likeness is undeniable, but Cima's is much closer still to the Sebastian in the early Bellinesque shutters in the Metropolitan Museum that we studied at the beginning of the last chapter.

Having attempted to dispose of the contention that Montagna was Cima's master, I would not now be taken to mean that Cima was Montagna's. I repeat that both were formed by Bellini and Antonello, but that, of the two, Montagna, the inferior craftsman, was the more sensitive to the other's qualities. Before leaving the question of origins and influences, I wish to say that I still believe that Cima, when he first came to Venice, may have gone to Alvise, for I recognize traces of such an early connection. Later Cima must have had his Classicizing and Academic tendencies strengthened by the example of the Lombardi; while his works from the Carmine altarpiece on, make us realize that Cima was far from unaware of Giorgione's feeling for light.

Before leaving the Detroit picture, I should like to be able to say what were its exact relations to the Olera Polyptych. Unfortunately there exists no photograph of this remarkable but inaccessible work, and my recollection of it is not clear enough for such a purpose. I seem to remember the Madonna there being of somewhat later character, more like, though undoubtedly earlier than, the early one in the Cook Collection at Richmond.

Mr. Walters, of Baltimore, has a "Madonna" (Fig. 79), of vigorous, saturated colour, and large design, but somewhat discontented expression, which is un-

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Fig. 79. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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doubtedly an early work. The only question is whether it is earlier or later than the one at Vicenza. If I mistake not, the feeling, as well as the pattern, are reminiscent of Bellini's "Madonnas" of about 1488, and particularly of the one in the National Gallery which we studied in the last chapter in connection with its studio version at Worcester, Mass. The long, yet full oval of the Virgin's face as well as the Child's type and look probably hark back to another work of the same date now represented by a studio version in the "Madonna with a Donor" of the Nemes Collection.

We find the same Madonna in another work of Cima's at Troyes; there she is seen between the Baptist and St. Francis, with six cherubs above her which are possibly reminiscent of those in Bellini's Murano altarpiece. St. Francis, on the other hand, reminds us of the more ascetic figures of Alvise in his panel of 1480 now in the Venice Academy. Nearly the same Madonna and Child occur in an altarpiece in the Brera, where we see besides, Sebastian and the Baptist, the Magdalen and Roch, and a number of male and female donors. This ruined but extremely interesting work shows, for the first time to my knowledge in Venetian painting, the dramatic and unifying device already mentioned at the beginning of this section, of the Madonna addressing herself to one side of the picture while the Child turns to the other. This innovation is so remarkable and comes so early in Cima's career, that one wonders whether he invented it, or took it over from some lost work of Alvise. The reason for the question is that the action of the Madonna's left hand, with its eloquent

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appeal, is manifestly taken from the Alvise altarpiece just referred to, and that this action must have led inevitably to giving the Child a similar gesture. The Brera work is interesting again for its portraits. Cima could scarcely help having been a portraitist and those here, when in their original state, must have been nearly on a level with the best then produced in Northern Italy.

For the question of date the following points may be considered. Beside what we have already noted as Alvisesque, I seem to find that the proportions of the Child recall Alvise. Indeed I know no other work of Cima's in which there lingers so much of that artist. The Sebastian, on the other hand, is Bellinesque and very close to Cima's early St. Sebastian at Olera. The costumes and the head-wear do not yield data precise enough, but three of the younger women wear their hair as Carpaccio's "Two Ladies" in the Correr Museum, and, for that reason chiefly, bear a striking resemblance to them. The precise date of these is not known but they are scarcely earlier than 1491 or later than 1495, dates which do not advance us. Dr. Hadeln in his admirably succinct yet complete article on Cima in Thieme and Becker's "Lexikon," says that on internal evidence he would place this work before the Vicenza one of 1489. I am inclined to agree with him. In the first place it looks as if it must precede the Walters and the Troyes "Madonnas," which, we found, to be so reminiscent of various Bellinis towards 1488 that they probably were designed directly after them and before Cima did the Vicenza picture. That would

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Fig. 89. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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place the Brera panel after the Detroit and Olera works but before the Vicenza one. In the second place, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to fit those three paintings into any series of Cima's works *after* the Vicenza altarpiece. We may conclude plausibly that Mr. Walters' "Madonna" was painted before the early Brera altarpiece and the one at Vicenza dated March 1, 1489.

Several years of Cima's career after this point are unrepresented in our Collections until we come to Mr. J. G. Johnson's "Madonna" (Fig. 80), which must have been painted toward 1494. The Virgin is seen almost sideways against a curtain, while she holds the Child with one hand under His thigh and the other at the back of His head. It is a boldly silhouetted, severe, almost stern group, and hard and somewhat dry in execution as well, but the whole mitigated by one of Cima's delightfully precise studies of landscape with everything as well placed and related as in Antonello's priceless and too rare paintings. Unfortunately the restorer has scoured Mr. Johnson's panel unmercifully, but some years ago at M. Sedelmeyer's in Paris, I saw a version of this picture which had not suffered such drastic treatment and was more enveloped and atmospheric. The design seems to have been a favourite, for besides these two equally autograph versions several studio or school copies are known. The best of them, to which the master himself may have given a helping hand, belongs to Mr. Beekman Winthrop of Westbury, Long Island. It has the advantage of being in its original frame; an advantage so great that I do not hesitate to say that I would rather own a good studio version of a picture

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in its own setting than a forlorn original, torn from everything related to it. The late Mr. Theo. Davis owned a good school copy. Another was in the Meazza Collection sold in Milan in 1884. In the Sterbini Collection in Rome there used to be a good studio version of a variant, the head of the Child being turned toward us instead of away. A somewhat later edition by Cima himself was in the market not long ago.

My reasons for dating it toward 1494 are that type, draping, peculiarities of folds and even pettier minutiæ lead one to place it between a lost original now represented by versions in the Uffizi and Padua and the "Madonna between Jerome and the Magdalen" of Munich. Now the Uffizi original must have been very close to the "Madonna" in the Conegliano altarpiece of 1493, while the Munich picture anticipates but slightly the Hermitage "Annunciation" of 1495, and Mr. Edward Tuck's "Madonna" (Fig. 81), of the same year.

That Madonna is so delightful and so interesting that although it is in Paris I venture to speak of it here, and with more reason as it belongs to a public-spirited countryman of ours whose generosity his *alma mater* has already frequently experienced.[1] Scarcely another of Cima's Madonnas is so fresh, so smiling, so joyously maternal, and the action of the Child is unusually playful, although with that rather solemn playfulness which characterizes Cima's "Bacchanals." The breadth of the design, the quiet simplicity of the landscape, the cheerful colouring, the crisp drawing and

[1] It was in the Abdy Collection.

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Fig. 81. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Edward Tuck, Paris.

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the firm modelling mark this as the earliest of the master's mature achievements. Thereafter his art oscillated a bit, and even changed a trifle but never for the better, and on the whole remained true to this kind of craftsmanship to the end. Something in the graciousness and purity of this Madonna, as well as in the rather porcelain-like modelling affects us almost as would a Della Robbia. On the other hand, the folds over the Virgin's breast betray a definite study of Mantegna. This, by the way, is not the only trace of the Paduan to be found in Cima's works. A very obvious instance is the action of the Virgin in the Montini altarpiece at Padua.

Mr. Tuck's Madonna is not dated, yet we are not at a loss for the exact year. For a long time there used to be a picture in the Piccinelli Collection at Bergamo signed by Antonio Maria di Carpi [1] and followed by the figures 1495. This painting, now at Budapest, is a faithful enough copy of ours, and must have been made directly upon the completion of the original, which on stylistic grounds could not be of an earlier date. The next year Cima himself executed a replica now in S. Maria delle Grazie at Gemona. The Child alone remains untouched, the rest having been daubed over pitilessly, but this Child is more attractive than in Mr. Tuck's. Studio and school versions exist, the best to my remembrance being one also at Budapest.

After this again some seven years of Cima's career are left unrepresented in American collections. They

[1] Nothing else is known of him, and I am not acquainted with any other painting that can be ascribed to him.

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are years during which the painter was gathering his strength for his supreme masterpiece, the picture on an altar in S. Maria dell' Orto. It is a work usually regarded as one of Cima's earliest. I agree with Dr. von Hadeln that it is nothing of the kind and I would place it soon after 1500. By common consent a Triptych and lunette originally at Mestre but now scattered, was painted at about the same time as the "Constantine and Helen" of 1502 in S. Giovanni in Bragora at Venice. The central panel representing St. Catherine is now in the Wallace Collection, the Sebastian and Roch at Strassburg in Alsace, and the lunette (Fig. 82) is now in the collection of George and Florence Blumenthal of New York.[1]

The lunette shows us the Blessed Virgin, a sweet gracious face, holding the Child Who blesses, while Francis and Anthony eagerly and zealously look and listen. Their fervour is rather unusual in Cima and was brought about perhaps because the space at command required the figures to lean forward. The whole produces not a little the effect of a fine Della Robbia lunette.

It is interesting to observe that the Madonna harks back to Mr. Tuck's, almost as if its author had not meanwhile painted the Dragan altarpiece in the Venice Academy and the Miglionico Polyptych. Our lunette has the disadvantage, however, of not being an autograph work from beginning to end. No doubt the

[1] How this triptych looked not on its original altar but in XVIIth century setting may be seen in an engraving reproduced by Dr. Burckhardt in his monograph, p. 40.

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Fig. 82. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA WITH SS. FRANCIS AND ANTHONY OF PADUA.
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York.

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whole was designed by Cima and the Virgin's face and throat were painted by him. In the rest there is something strange in type and expression, heavy in the modelling of the hands in particular, and careless in the draperies, which betrays the touch of an assistant.

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For a Venetian painter of his time Cima must have been unusually adverse to the frontal position of the Madonna (which he seems to have avoided unless required by ritual reasons), and curiously pre-occupied with questions of pose. He tries one sideways position after another, and ends finally with the pronounced *contrapposto* of the Virgin in the Parma altarpiece with Michael and Andrew. On the way thither toward 1505, he must have painted the picture now at Lady Wantage's in which the Madonna not only sits sideways but on a stone seat which is itself placed athwart. The compactness of the grouping by the way is still Antonellesque although Cima here took over the motive so fashionable at the turn of the Century, of the Mother holding the foot of the Child in her palm. This picture, too, must have enjoyed considerable popularity. A loose version of it by some timid assistant, ill at ease in the vehicle he was using, was in the collection of Mr. Pfungst of London. Cima himself must have reversed the design, for two excellent studio versions of this variant are known, one in the Salting Bequest of the National Gallery and the other in the Caregiani Palace at Venice, besides a copy at Bergamo. In Mrs.

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J. L. Gardner's collection in Boston there is a replica from Cima's own hand. The larger modelling and simpler folds lead one to suspect that it may have been done two or three years later.

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Some few years later, Cima designed one of the most monumental and most impressive of his Madonnas, which, yet like the group last discussed, avoided the frontality so conducive to those effects. A much draped but heroic figure, the Blessed Virgin, sits sideways behind a parapet against a great curtain and holds the Child against a sober, almost featureless landscape. Unfortunately I am unable to give a reproduction of this almost Michelangelesque masterpiece, for the estate of the late Mr. Quincy Shaw of Boston, to which it belongs, is still unsettled. By a compensating accident, however, a version of this Madonna made somewhat later by a gifted pupil, happens to exist in the Walters Collection, and this version we reproduce instead. (Fig. 83.) But it fails to convey a full sense of the original although it enjoys over it the advantage of a great arched window opening out on an enchanting prospect. One is tempted to believe that before yielding to the seduction of the Giorgionesque newness, and before his health began to give way, Cima gathered up all that was largest and sturdiest in himself for this supreme effort.

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Fig. 83. VARIANT AFTER CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 84. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: SILENUS.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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In 1509, or in the following year, Cima painted a "Nativity" still in the Carmine at Venice which marks an epoch in his career, for it is the earliest of his works which displays that Romantic treatment of light in landscape which we associate with the name of Giorgione. No single feature is taken over from the younger painter, nevertheless it is clear that the author of the Carmine picture had been moved and inspired by him. If Lord Allendale's "Nativity" was by the latter, one might say confidently that Cima had seen it, but its attribution to Giorgione is doubtful, and it is more likely that its painter drew upon Cima's composition.

Just before and just after this moment, Cima designed a number of mythological subjects which doubtless served to adorn caskets. Several of them have come down, as for instance the "Endymion," and the "Apollo and Marsyas" at Parma, the "Judgment of Midas" in Count A. Moltke's collection in Denmark, and the "Bacchus and Ariadne" in the Poldi Museum at Milan. In Mr. J. G. Johnson's collection there are two companions to the last. The wider panel (Fig. 84) shows Silenus riding a piously resigned ass, over a flowery meadow by an inlet of the sea. A satyr, leaning on a thyrsus, supports the rider's heavy head, which is turned up to drain a huge gourd. Another satyr, blowing in a shell, precedes them, and a third follows swinging a vine-branch. The other panel represents a vigorous youthful nude, girt with vine-leaves, supporting a cask on his shoulders. They are among the most fascinating paintings of Venice, exquisite in their pearly colour,

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severe in drawing, relief-like composition, and humour. Their "solemnity suggests, rather than a delirious revel, some ritual playing at play like the ball game which figured at a great medieval festival in a certain French Cathedral."

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After 1510 Cima's health must have begun to decline: his works thereafter show failings and inequalities, from which however he again and again pulled himself up triumphantly. Our collections can scarcely claim any of the best achievements of these last years. Those we possess are, nevertheless, works one can appreciate and enjoy.

The earliest one of them probably is a small picture belonging to George and Florence Blumenthal of New York, which, when it was in the Hainauer Collection, bore the crudely forged inscription in square letters of *Ionnes Bellinus faciebat.* It represents the Virgin, a nice country lass, turning toward St. Clare, while the Child reaches out toward St. Francis. This action of the Child is characteristic of Cima's later years, and usually He is eager to touch the palm or cross in the Saint's hand, as we see in the kindred picture at Frankfort. In the Blumenthal panel although the action remains the same, it would seem as if He were handing the cross to the Seraphic Father.

Nearly contemporary with this must be the Triptych acquired some years ago from the Leuchtenberg Collection by the Metropolitan Museum: St. Anthony

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Fig. 85. CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: MADONNA WITH ST. CATHERINE AND THE BAPTIST.

Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York.

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Abbot standing on a pedestal against a curtain, turning to St. Lucy, while on the other side St. Roch touches his incurable sore. One may hazard the suggestion that both these saints are portraits, for they are individualized to an unusual degree, and St. Lucy's costume is perhaps too modish to have been intended for a real saint. It is interesting to note that the impressive figure of Anthony harks back to the one in the *Carità* triptychs designed soon after 1470 by Giovanni Bellini. For all its excellent qualities, this painting is not convincingly an autograph. Assistants have undoubtedly had a large hand in it.

One of Cima's last works (Fig. 85), is the overcleaned but beautiful panel with its sensitive faces in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan.[1] Three figures are seen against a landscape and sky, and their scale, their relations already suggest something more like Palma's "Three Sisters" than a customary Quattrocento composition. The Blessed Virgin holds the ring which the Child is about to give to Catherine while He snatches at the Baptist's cross. His action is a good deal as in the little panel of the Blumenthal Collection, only it is considerably more ample, and more eloquent. The headwear of Catherine is so like that in Bellini's beautiful Nude of 1515 in the Vienna Museum that we can assume the same phase of fashion. Certainly Mr. Morgan's picture is of no earlier date, and it probably was painted a couple of years later.

[1] It seems to be identical with the picture shown at the Manchester Exhibition by Mr. Watts Russell. Cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (new edition) I, p. 248, note 2.

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CIMA'S FOLLOWERS

The four or five paintings in our collections by nameless followers of Cima could be dismissed with brevity but for the witness they bear to the need and value of the close chronological determination of every work of art of doubtful authorship. The core, so to speak, of each considerable Italian painter of the Renaissance is now something settled and fixed. Beyond that, however, there is room for inference. This is particularly true with regard to the first years of a career. We have pitifully few certain works dating from the beginnings of most Venetian artists. And the more obscure painters have as yet but fluctuating personalities. As in any other science, we are bound to try every plausible chance of attaching the unknown to the already known, and to see whether finally the chain holds together and makes a unity that cannot be broken. Our fancy can safely be allowed a certain freedom, provided it is frequently brought to book. For this sobering and eliminating process there is no such measure as chronology.

Thus I was inclined to ascribe a "Madonna" in Mr. Henry Walters' Collection to Filippo Mazzola of Parma. Its colour and handling reminded me of a Cimaesque painting by that master at Berlin, and I thought that had he gone further along that road, he easily could have come to paint the panel in question. Publishing and reproducing it in "Art in America" (1915 p. 170) and commenting on its relation to the

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Madonna in the Louvre altarpiece, I added, "If I retain a doubt it is due to the question of date. Mazzola died in 1505 and the type of Madonna here imitated would seem to me unexpectedly advanced for a work painted by Cima at this epoch." Since then careful study of Cima's chronology has convinced me that a Madonna and Child of the type in the Louvre picture could not have been painted before 1511 at the earliest, and that an imitation thereof could not be from the hand of Filippo Mazzola. Nevertheless the relation to his craftsmanship there observed is not useless. As the Louvre picture was originally at Parma it is likely that Mr. Walters' "Madonna" was painted there by some close follower of Mazzola.

Again there is a "Madonna" in Mr. J. G. Johnson's Collection which some of us believed to be by Sebastiano del Piombo.[1] It had not escaped notice that it is a copy of a "Madonna" by Cima in the National Gallery, but it is painted in a style so much larger and looser and with such an avoidance of dainty detail, and such a breadth of planes, that at first sight it reminded me of Palma. But the head and features and expression of the Child are so like Sebastiano's that, inspired by the notion entertained by many students that Sebastiano was a pupil of Cima, I concluded that he must be the author of this full-blown Cinquecento translation of a Quattrocentist's work. But there are many good reasons for assuming that Cima did not design his version before 1513 at the earliest. Perhaps the most obvious proof is in the spirited action of the

[1] Reproduced in Catalogue and in Venturi's Storia VII, 4, fig. 495.

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Child Who seems eager to tear away from His mother, as if He symbolized the ripe Renaissance with its onward rush away from its immediate past. He is indeed not unfamiliar to us, yet not in paintings of Cima's exact contemporaries, but in Titian, in the Dresden "Santa Conversazione." I am convinced that here the younger borrowed from the older artist who, as has already been stated here more than once, was unusually interested in movement and action, anticipating in that respect the next generation, although in line, handling, and touch remaining so entirely of the Quattrocento. But that is by the way. The point to be made is that before 1513 Sebastiano, had he ever been a pupil of Cima's, had become the closest of Giorgione's followers, while in that exact year he was in Rome doing all he could to identify himself with Michelangelo. Neither then nor ever after was he likely to paint in this fashion, even if it had occurred to him to copy Cima.

Yet again, I was strongly tempted to ascribe to Sebastiano a little picture (Fig. 86), of extraordinary beauty of colouring belonging to Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop of New York. We see the Virgin sitting sideways behind a parapet against a gorgeously patterned curtain, while the Child reaches out to bless St. James seen against the pillars of a portico. The saturation and sparkle of the colour, a good deal in the James reminding one of the figures at S. Bartolommeo in Rialto, and the portico recalling the St. Giovanni Crisostomo Altarpiece, made me say, "Here we have Sebastiano still in Cima's workshop but already revealing himself

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Fig. 86. FOLLOWER OF CIMA: MADONNA WITH ST. JAMES.
Collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop, New York.

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in this and this and this." But the type of Madonna, the action of the Child can anticipate but slightly those in the Blumenthal "Madonna" or in the Franfort "Madonna with SS. Catherine and Nicolas" and they certainly were painted after 1510. The pattern on the curtain is almost identical with those in such late works of Cima's as "Tobias and the Angel with the Baptist and Nicolas," as well as in the latest of his Altarpieces in the Venice Academy, or the "St. Peter and Paul and Baptist" in the Brera. Necessarily, therefore, Mr. Winthrop's jewel-like little panel must have been painted at a time when Sebastiano had already done his most attractive Roman masterpieces.

These errors were made because of an hypothesis—that Sebastiano started his career in Cima's studio: and the hypothesis was founded on a *"Pietà"* in the Layard Collection which bore Sebastiano's signature.[1] The inscription was questioned by Cavalcaselle but the warm colour and sombre, brownish tone seemed to anticipate so much of the mature Sebastiano, that I was always inclined to accept this little panel as his. But latterly the study of Cima's chronology has convinced me that I was wrong, and for the following reason. A picture has recently been left to the Hermitage by Count Stroganoff which turns out to be the original Cima of which the Layard one is a variant. Now the Hermitage *"Pietà"* could not have been painted very long before the Carmine "Nativity," and the Layard version must have been contemporary with the latter work. But when Cima was painting that work Sebas-

[1] Venturi's Storia, VII, 4, fig. 430.

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tiano already had the S. Giovanni Crisostomo altarpiece behind him and was perhaps preparing to leave Venice for Rome.

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A name that occurs in catalogues and writings on Venetian art with a frequency that is not great, yet out of relation to the known achievement of its bearer, is that of Pasqualino. The only interesting fact known with regard to him is that his failure to execute a commission to paint a "Presentation of the Virgin" gave Titian, some decades later, the opportunity of designing one of his noblest and most splendid compositions. Three signed works by this insignificant painter are known, but I am actually acquainted with one of these only, the "Madonna" of 1496 in the Correr Museum. A careful study of this one permits me to agree with those students who attribute to him a "Madonna" in the Rovigo Gallery and a "Magdalen" in the Giustiniani Palace at Venice, and to ascribe to him on my own account a "Madonna" in the collection of the late Baron Sartorio of Trieste.

A number of years ago there was exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts a "Madonna" (Fig. 87), signed by Pasqualino, belonging to Mr. C. Felton of Santa Barbara, Cal., and I understand that this panel now belongs to Mrs. Felton. It represents the rather haughty Virgin seated against a curtain, with a prayer book in her hand and the Child attempting to stride forward on her knees but held back by her other hand.

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Fig. 87. PASQUALINO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mrs. Felton, New York.

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On our right is seen a strip of landscape and sky, and below a parapet with the signature in square letters. The authenticity of this signature has been doubted and the photograph gives no data for a decision, but it matters little, for the painting is certainly by the artist with whose name it is inscribed. A moment's concentrated attention and comparison with the Correr "Madonna" will convince one. At first sight it looks as if it must have been modelled on a late Cima, but close study reveals that it can not be much later than the Correr picture, and that Pasqualino must have copied some lost design of about 1500 in which Cima anticipated certain features of his latest style. The broad flattened nostrils of the Child are characteristic of Pasqualino, and we find them again in the Rovigo "Madonna" and in the Giustiniani "Magdalen." The hand is on the way to the shape of the Virgin's left hand in the Rovigo picture.

The Rovigo "Madonna" betrays, if I mistake not, a certain connection with Previtali, in which case the latter would have been influenced by Pasqualino. Another Bergamask was connected with him, for a quaint and curious "Madonna with two Saints and a Monkey" that some years ago passed through the shop of Signor Bardini of Florence, was signed by Jacopo Gavazi, and obviously inspired by some such picture as Pasqualino's Correr "Madonna."

Finally, before completing this chapter on Giovanni Bellini's contemporaries a word must be said about Jacopo di Barbari, one of whose rare authentic works

[1] Reproduced in Catalogue and in Venturi's Storia VII, 4, fig. 435.

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is now in Mr. J. G. Johnson's Collection.[1] The picture, which is signed and dated 1503, exhibits the pitiful sight of an old dotard caressing an anæmic young female who looks as if, besides all her moral distress, she was suffering from both headache and toothache. It is singular that subjects like this should have been so relatively common in the North and so rare in the South. In Italy, at least, and at that time, civilization, taste, morals and public opinion would have joined together to prevent the exaltation of such senile lasciviousness. The desire for the portrayal of scenes like this betrays a state of mind more akin to that of the Marquis de Sade than of Cesare Borgia.

I find it hard to believe that Barbari first went to Germany in 1500 as is always stated, and it seems to me unlikely that one of the race of gods should after such a brief exile have got so Teutonized as we find him in this and in his few other signed and dated paintings. I suspect he must have frequented Germany before 1500, or indeed that he was half German in blood.

Be that as it may, our interest in him as a painter is much diminished since we have taken away from him the fascinating "Head of a Youth" at Vienna, the head of Bernardo di Rossi at Naples, the frescoes on the Onigo monument at Treviso, etc. What remains is enigmatic and inferior. Barbari returns to the reputation he had before Morelli. He remains the author of a number of engravings which at times exhale a singular pathos of listless world-weariness. They are said to have small value as craftsmanship, but they certainly rank high as a certain type of illustration.

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CHAPTER VI

GIOVANNI BELLINI'S PUPILS AND FOLLOWERS

THIS chapter will treat of two generations of Bellini's pupils and followers, in so far as they are represented in American collections.

"Generation" as applied in art history does not mean the conventional term of 33 years, but a period less definite, longer or shorter according to time, place, and circumstances, characterized by a common purpose, by common ways of visualizing, and by common methods of execution. Under anthropological conditions such a generation may last for centuries, or even thousands of years, as was the case with such prehistoric schools of art as the "Mousterian," "Aurignacian," "Solutrian," and "Magdalenian," and as is still the case with the few remaining "savages" in uttermost Africa or Australia who have escaped the benefits of civilization. In Egypt more often than not a generation of artists was at least as long lived as a dynasty. In Greece between 475 and 275 B. C., the generation had a short life. Then again in our Western World, the years between about 700 to about 1100 divide into very few generations. In the XIIIth Century, on the other hand, generation follows quickly upon generation of Gothic builders, carvers and painters. In the Italian Renaissance, finally, we come to a moment when evolution is

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so rapid that five or six, or, at the utmost, ten years is the length of a generation. Take Botticelli and Leonardo. We never think of the first except as an exponent of the Quattrocento, and seldom of the second except in connection with Raphael and Michelangelo. Nevertheless Botticelli and Leonardo were born within eight years of each other. It would seem as if we might infer that for students of the history of art a generation gets shorter as the general movement of civilization grows more rapid. The pace in turn may depend on the kind of civilization, and it may be suggested that it is much swifter in a highly mechanized than in an unmechanical state of culture. We may go further and conclude that owing to our extremely advanced mechanization the movement has got so vertiginous that, so to speak, the generations have no time to be born. Cubism was not half shaped when it was swallowed by Futurism. Futurism in turn was blighted by Blastism, and the last news is that Blastism has been smothered by Rauquism.

After Carpaccio, Montagna and Cima, there remain three generations of pupils and followers of the Bellini. In the first place there are those like Rondinelli, who never reach out beyond their masters, and scarcely even keep up with their advance. They are rapidly succeeded by the Basaitis and Catenas and Bartolommeo Venetos, who, in their riper years, besides stretching the Quattrocento precepts and usages to the last limit, endeavour to express themselves in the new way, and at times hit upon a harmony of the old and the new having a charm and even a fascination without which

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Italian art would be the poorer. Last comes the new generation of Bellini's pupils, led by Giorgione, who feel and see and paint in a way essentially if not obviously as different from Giovanni Bellini as his was from that of his father, Jacopo. With this generation we are not concerned here. The first two hold together and will be treated together in this chapter.

At this point a word may be in place regarding the terms "pupil" and "follower." By the first is not meant a relation as between a child and the person who taught him reading, writing, and arithmetic, or who first attempted to teach him designing and painting. When we speak of one noted man being the pupil of another, we mean something more than that humble pedagogic relation. Thus it occurs to no educated person to assume, when he hears that Plato was a pupil of Socrates, that the latter taught the former his rudiments. But people tend to treat painting as a thing apart. It is too often supposed by people whose interest in art is more abstract than concrete, by people who in their secret minds prefer reading about the work of art to exposing themselves to its direct action, that a pupil of a painter was necessarily taught his puerile beginnings by that master, as if a Bellini, a Leonardo or a Raphael had the leisure to give such care to small boys. The boy who found admittance as apprentice to the great man's studio learnt his rudiments not from the master himself but from the latter's assistants, and became the pupil of the great master not in the narrow, literal, but in the wider more spiritual sense. I should never use the term "pupil" here or elsewhere to imply

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an infant school relation between a painter and his teacher. Such a relation, in fact, has small if any interest for students like ourselves of the more conscious, more individualized phases of human activity, and is indeed scarcely to be discovered by us art critics whose business it is to derive all the information we can from the analysis and synthesis of the artist's works. It will be brought to light, if at all, by the historian whose information is necessarily derived from verbal documents. A painter is the "pupil" of the master who gave him the method, the manner and the style which predominate in his earlier works, and remain at the basis of his later progress. In this connection it is almost amusing to remark that most of the small fry who boast when signing their modest achievements that they were pupils of Giovanni Bellini, were not in even this sense his pupils, but only his followers. It is too patent in these panels that their authors had already acquired habits of visualizing, designing and painting before coming in direct contact with Bellini. By "follower," then, we mean a painter with a manner already more or less formed who attempts to acquire that of another. His authentic works seldom fail to show whence he came and whither he would go. A striking instance of a "follower" as distinct from a "pupil" is Sebastiano del Piombo in his relation to Michelangelo.

Perhaps in no other chapter of this series shall we feel more justified and rewarded for our labours upon the chronology of Giovanni Bellini. Thanks to this chronology we shall be able to specify with greater accuracy than was possible hitherto what kind of rela-

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tions prevailed between him and the younger painters, and at what point these had contact with him. For hitherto our knowledge has been somewhat vague, the result of guessing rather than of serious research. With few dates established by irrefutable documents or inscriptions, and with no method of procedure except divination it scarcely could be otherwise.

The painters of the first of the two generations that will be examined presently always reflect the phase through which the master was passing while they were subject to his inspiration, and it is possible to perceive even in their latest works that they had been his pupils at such and such a moment of his career. The second generation, on the other hand, requires more cautious handling, not that they were more independent but for the following reasons. In the first place, for all their eagerness to acquire a manner that would establish their claim to have been the disciples of Giovanni Bellini, many of them confuse the result by virtue of having brought from elsewhere to his studio ways and habits too marked and too strong not to resist his teaching.

In the second place, it was natural that the public should insist on being supplied with imitations of many of his more popular types and compositions for many years after they first appeared. This demand was satisfied by the less original painters, who, possessing little creative power of their own, were willing to turn back and repeat a popular theme. In them, therefore, the relation between the original and the copy or imitation is uncertain and does not help so much to settle ques-

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tions of chronology as in the case of the older artists we have hitherto been studying. With those of the next generation with whom we are now to deal, the problem gets more complicated.

I

RONDINELLI

Rondinelli was perhaps the most prominent of Bellini's pupils of the first of these two generations, and it is easy to control what has just been said about them with a glance at his works. There is scarcely one that does not hark back to some pattern, figure or trait of the master's during the decade or so that followed upon 1489. Paintings of Rondinelli's last years, like the Ravenna "Madonna with the Baptist, Thomas Aquinas, the Magdalen and Catherine" retain the papery folds, and the rather sharp silhouetting toward which Bellini had a slight tendency during those years, as well as his types and expressions of the same period. The presence in certain panels, which must have left Bellini's studio at that time, of distinct exaggerations of these characteristics and features combined with a certain prettiness, a more burnished colouring and an instability of tone, leads one, on the other hand, to conclude that it was Rondinelli who executed them. Thus it is probable that although Bellini designed it was Rondinelli who painted such works as the Berlin "Madonna with the starred curtain" (No. 11), the "Madonna with the Baptist and Elizabeth" at Frankfort, the "Madonna with four Saints and a Donor" in the

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Fig. 88. RONDINELLI: MADONNA BETWEEN PETER AND MICHAEL.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Schlichting Bequest of the Louvre, the Barberini "Madonna" (ascribed to him), and even the impressive "Madonna with SS. Peter and Sebastian" in the Louvre again.

There are two of his indisputable works in American collections. I shall not dwell on the first, which belongs to Mr. R. C. Johnson of Washington, D. C., because having no reproduction to offer, comments could not be followed by the reader. It represents the Madonna with the Infant John and a rose-crowned music-making angel, and was probably painted fairly soon after its author's return to Ravenna. It was there, by the way, in his provincial home, that he pursued his career, exerting no slight influence on the feeble local talents of the region, Palmezzano, Marchesi, Carrari and the Zaganelli, and declined more and more to their level, doubtless falling in turn under their influence. The second of his works belongs to Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore, and represents in three panels the "Madonna between Peter and Michael." (Fig. 88). Probably it formed part of a polyptych, for the Child holds out a rose as if offering it to bystanders looking up toward Him.

These panels are from Rondinelli's later years, but there is very little in their design that is not derived from Bellini, and the Madonna is but a variant upon the Barberini one mentioned a few lines back. What little is not of this origin reminds one somewhat impalpably of Cima, as indeed does the work of most of the painters we shall study in this chapter. Only in the arabesques and masks on the architecture, and in the metallic colour-

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ing and burnished tone do local Romagnol traits appear. The sharp features, the slit of the eyes, and the salmon flesh tints approach these figures to Baldassare Carrari. There is a moment when the latter imitates Rondinelli so closely, while in turn influencing him in a measure, that one should be on guard not to confuse them.

Besides the three panels just discussed, which are beyond question by Rondinelli, there are in Mr. Walters' Collection four others (Fig. 89), parts of a polyptych no doubt, which one hesitates to ascribe to him, although they are perhaps closer to him than to any other known painter. They represent four Saints standing under arches against a dark blue sky,—Peter, Roch, James, and the Baptist. The figures are neither inelegant nor unattractive, the colour and tone have some of the sparkle of good stained glass, but the drawing is a bit limp, and the extremities are lifeless. There is little in them that could not pass for Rondinelli, while the pretty head of the Baptist and the papery folds of Peter almost claim him as their painter, and indeed figures singularly like them may be seen in both of his altarpieces at the Brera embroidered on copes worn by bishops. The Peter, by the way, is taken over from the one in Bellini's "Allegory" at the Uffizi, which may be dated toward 1488. It could be assumed without too great rashness that these panels were early independent works of Rondinelli, designed about 1490.

Yet I hesitate, chiefly because they remind me as well of the paintings for the organ shutters of the Miracoli (Fig. 90), now in the Venice Academy. Except-

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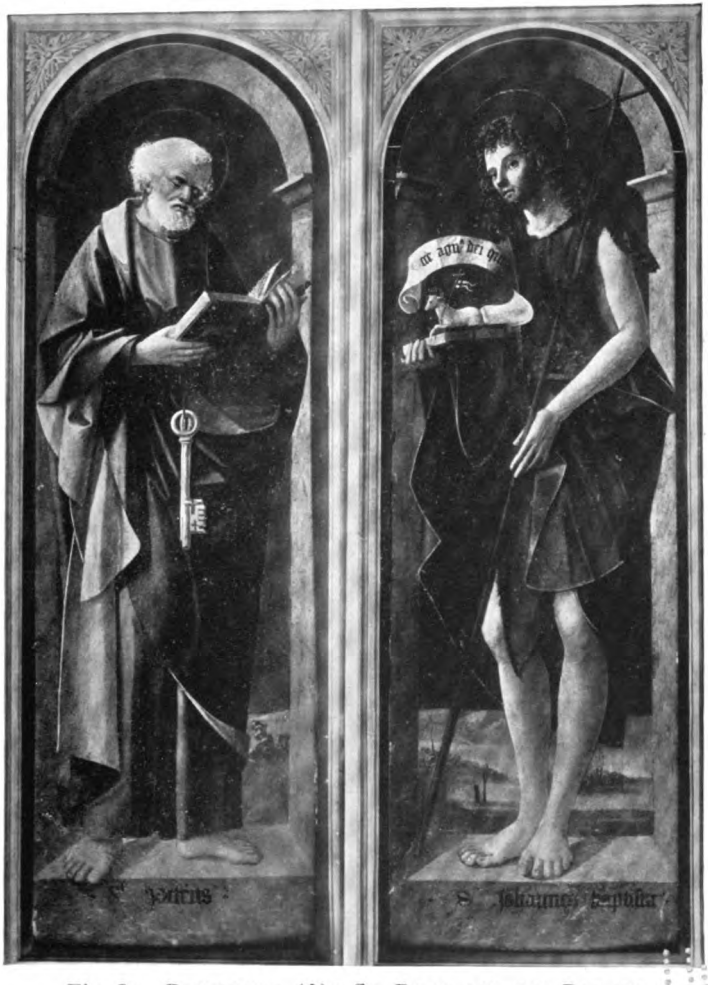

Fig. 89. RONDINELLI (?): ST. PETER AND THE BAPTIST.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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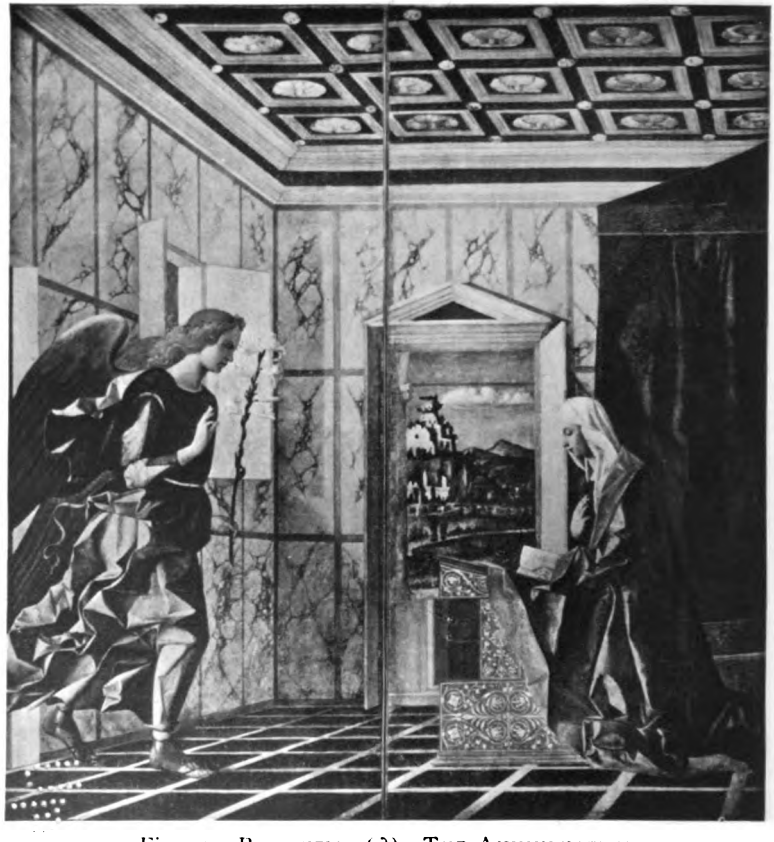

Fig. 90. RONDINELLI (?): THE ANNUNCIATION.
Academy (from S. Maria Miracoli), Venice.

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ing the edge of St. Peter's draperies, there is no one detail in these figures that resembles ours more than Rondinelli's do, yet they have something not easily definable which brings them closer to the Miracoli paintings. But are these "Annunciation" and "St. Peter" not Rondinelli's too? The "Annunciation," at all events, might easily be his. The Blessed Virgin, the landscape, the Angel might well have been done by him while following closely upon what Bellini was doing toward 1490. The panelling is the same as in the lost "Christ at Emmaus" of that precise year, and the same paving occurs in the Uffizi "Allegory." The colouring, at once sombre and burnished, would seem to confirm the attribution to Rondinelli.

Since Boschini, however, the Miracoli paintings have been ascribed to Pier Maria Pennacchi. This was a Trevisan artist who has left three signed pictures but to whom tradition attributes—correctly, it would seem—some ceiling panels as well. The signed works are a "Madonna and Saints" of towards 1500, a "Dead Christ sustained by Angels" of somewhat later date, and a "Dormition of the Virgin," which must have been executed in the last year of the artist's life, 1514. The first two of these pictures are in Berlin,[1] and the last in Venice. I find it difficult to discover much in common between these signed panels and the Miracoli paintings. Neither in the "Madonna and Saints," his earliest, nor in the "Dormition," his latest work, is there anything specifically Bellinesque, and the "Dead Christ" is Bellinesque only as was every treatment of

[1] See Dr. v. Hadeln in *"Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft,"* IV, 276.

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that subject in Venice after 1470.[1] The "Annunciation," on the contrary, is so Bellinesque, that one can venture to say that its author must have been intimate with Bellini toward 1490. And in fact the date of 1490 would suit the "Annunciation," not only on grounds of style but also because that was the time when S. Maria dei Miracoli was being completed, and (one would think) its organ shutters painted. All these considerations would make it seem as if the "Annunciation" was by Rondinelli.

Boschini's attribution to Pennacchi need not be considered binding, for it is not backed up, so far as we know, by anything more than the fact that the ceiling in the same church was decorated by that artist. If, nevertheless, I hesitate to discard Boschini's idea, it is for the two following reasons: in the first place, there may be something in the contention of Signor Gino Fogolari who in publishing these organ shutters (Bolletino d'Arte, 1908, p. 133) maintains that the "St. Peter" on the back of one of them has a XVIth Century air about him. The stronger reason is that in the "Annunciation," although the folds are as papery as in Rondinelli, they are squarer and more angular. Conceivably the kerchief of Pennacchi's Berlin "Madonna" might be imagined to have a tendency toward a similar system of folds.

Those grounds of hesitation are perhaps over-scrupulous, and in any event we derive from them slight confirmation of the attribution to Pennacchi. Signor

[1] Cavalcaselle attributes to Pennacchi a "Madonna" in S. Maria della Salute which has no relation to him and must have come out of Giovanni Bellini's workshop toward 1485.

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Fogolari, who supports it, would date the Miracoli organ painting about 1510. But Pennacchi scarcely outlived the year 1514, and it may well be asked whether it is possible that an artist forty-six years old, who in 1510 painted the "Annunciation" and the "St. Peter," could in what little remained of his middle-aged life have changed into the author of the "Dormition." To get over this difficulty Signor Fogolari throws out the interesting suggestion that the "Annunciation" must have been inspired by one of Bellini's. We can however affirm that if such an original by Bellini did exist it must have been painted before 1490. But if the four figures in Mr. Walters' Collection are by the same hand as this Miracoli "Annunciation" and necessarily of the same date, how are we to explain that they, too, hark back to the Bellini of toward 1490? For, except the "Peter" they do not point back to any originals by that master the existence of which is known or to be inferred. It would follow rather as the upshot of this discussion that in the career of Pier Maria Pennacchi as hitherto ascertained, there is no room for the "Annunciation" or the four saints here discussed. On the whole, the evidence tends to the conclusion that they were painted not long after 1490, and probably by the artist with all of whose works they show close affinities, namely Rondinelli. Very likely they are the earliest independent works of his that have come down to us.

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Three other panels (Fig. 91), of the Walters Collection claim our attention at this point, for they belong to a but slightly later phase of Venetian painting in the last decade of the XVth Century. In each of them we see a Franciscan saint under an opening of massive rectangular architecture against the landscape and sky. The central figure represents the Seraphic Father and he doubtless had to his right Louis of Toulouse, and to his left St. John of Capistrano.[1] The feeling is simple and unforced, as happily is nearly always the case in Venetian painting before Tintoretto; the construction is tolerable, the handling adequate to the author's modest ambition, and the whole, thanks, largely to the pearly, cool colouring and glimpses of naïve landscape, gently agreeable.

As the architecture is inspired by Bellini's Frari Triptych of 1488, these figures could not well have been designed before that date. It is not so easy to tell how much later they may have been, but their air is not yet of the XVIth Century, and the creased and slightly billowed curtain behind St. Francis leads one to suspect that they may not be later than 1495 and that they may even be a year or two earlier.

Now there is a picture at Naples of which this head of Capistrano always reminds me. Yet the association may be merely a fortuitous one, due to the crude fact that the Capistrano and the principal figure in the Naples panel are both smooth-faced friars of the same

[1] 1386–1456 the great revivalist, who ended his life rousing Germans and Hungarians against the Turks.

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Fig. 91. FOLLOWER OF BELLINI: ST. FRANCIS WITH SS. JOHN OF CAPISTRANO AND LOUIS OF TOULOUSE.

Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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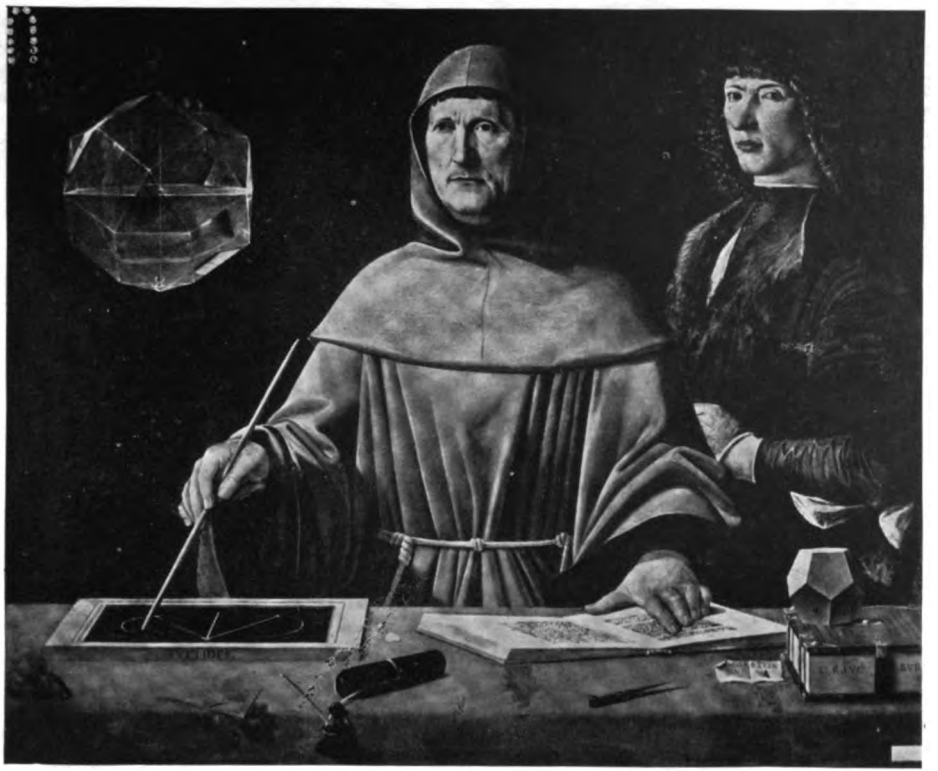

FIG. 92. FOLLOWER OF GIOVANNI BELLINI: FRA LUCA PACIOLI AND A YOUNG NOBLEMAN.
Museum, Naples.

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period, wearing the same habit, which necessarily falls into similar folds.

The Naples painting (Fig. 92), which represents, it is supposed, Fra Luca Pacioli and a young nobleman, has been the subject of much controversy.[1] It is inscribed *Jaco. Bar. Vigenius p. 1495,* and it was easy to jump to the conclusion that it was the signature of Jacopo di Barbari. Barbari, however, died a very old man in 1514, and whoever this Jacopo Bar. was, he proudly added that he was only twenty years old—*vigenius*—in 1495, which obviously excludes the Jacopo di Barbari hitherto known to us. May he not be a homonym of Jacopo's? For Barbari was not necessarily a rare name seeing we know a Nicolo of nearly the same period and a Joseph who flourished in the middle of the XVIth Century.

On the other hand, Bar. is not an abbreviation for Barbari alone: and may stand for any name beginning with that syllable. We shall therefore do well, until further knowledge enlightens us, to speak of the author of the Naples portraits as "Jacopo Bar." Once it became clear that he was not the Master of the Caduceus, guessing began as to what school he belonged to. For myself, it is certain that he was a Venetian and a follower of Giovanni Bellini. Returning now to Mr. Walters' Triptych, and assuming that the resemblance I perceive between it and the Naples picture is more than a subjective impression, what I should like to know is whether it is possible that the author who at

[1] Resumed in the admirable catalogue of the Naples picture gallery.

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twenty in 1495 painted the latter, might not have painted the former two years earlier? He was precocious, as advertised by his boast of being only twenty, and might easily have advanced from the one to the other in an interval so long as twenty-four months are to a young man of eighteen. If the possibility be admitted, it may be asked what became of him. Young painters unhappily are as exposed to death through disaster and disease as other young people, and at that time, when pestilence reaped its harvest almost annually, many a promise of talent or even genius was blighted in its beginning. Our "Jaco. Bar." may have died directly after painting the Naples portraits.

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In Mr. Walters' Collection there is still another picture (Fig. 93), of this period, somewhat earlier than the Triptych just discussed, as early perhaps as 1490. In the open air on a sculptured throne decorated with conventionalized foliage and trophies, and surrounded by candelabra connected by large beads of red coral, sits the Blessed Virgin with her earnest, thoughtful, almost anxious face holding an apple snatched at by the Child in her lap. It is not a great work, (no more than are the other paintings discussed hitherto in this chapter,) but it has qualities of deep feeling, of strong although rather hard modelling, and of enamel-like colour which invite one to find for it a name that would make it a readier object of discourse than an anonymous painting, not of the first rank, is likely to become.

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Fig. 93. Follower of the Bellini: Madonna.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Thus far I have had no success in my search for its author. All one can say is that he must have been a follower of the Bellini toward 1490. There is perhaps something of Gentile in the oval and features of the Virgin, but on the whole she reminds us of the one in the Louvre "Madonna with Peter and the Baptist" of this period; while the throne resembles an enigmatic painting from Giovanni Bellini's studio representing the Madonna seen in full length worshipping the Child asleep in her lap.[1] As the motive is usually found in the Vivarini and in the young Bellini, this picture, too, is generally ascribed to the last named master's youth. The hands, however, the draperies, and the ornamentation of the throne convince me that it was designed just after the Frari Triptych, and the Uffizi and Venice Academy "Allegories." The Child in turn suggests yet another work of the same moment from Bellini's studio, the Doria "Madonna with the Baptist."

II

GIOVANNI MARTINI AND LATTANZIO DA RIMINI

I am acquainted with only two other works in America that may be safely assigned to painters of the generation that we are now studying. Both these are also in Mr. Walters' Collection. One of them is most probably by Giovanni Martini and the other possibly, but only possibly, by Lattanzio da Rimini.

The first of these (Fig. 94), represents the Dead Saviour supported by four little boy angels. Bellini's

[1] Reproduced in Venturi's Storia VII, 4, fig. 143.

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own *"Pietàs"* apart,—for they are unattainable,—no other Venetian treatment of the subject shows a nobler head of the Protagonist or a quieter pathos. The spirit and the pattern are Bellini's inspired by some such masterpiece as the Pesaro *"Pietà"*;[1] but everything else here is so close to Cima that one is surprised not to find its exact forerunner among his works. Indeed, but for something rather heavy in the children's faces, one might have been tempted to assign this design to Cima himself. But these children's faces and the colour and the handling are so much in the character of Giovanni Martini's "Glory of St. Ursula," (painted for Udine and now in the Brera,) that we scarcely can doubt but that Mr. Walters' *"Pietà"* is by the same hand. Only in ours the author is even closer to Cima. The Brera panel is dated 1507, and I suspect that the *"Pietà"* may be a trifle earlier, done when its painter was fresh from Venice, before provinciality reclaimed him. And now just a word to explain who he was.

Giovanni Martini of Udine, in his earliest work known to me, the "Madonna with Joseph and Simeon" in the Correr Museum at Venice, signed and dated 1498, copies his Virgin and Child from a "Madonna with Jerome and the Baptist" by Alvise Vivarini, which is now in the collection of Baron Herzog of Budapest (Cicerone, IV, p. 419). After Alvise's last

[1] One is tempted to infer that it existed in Treviso because a "Pietà" by Girolamo da Treviso now in the Brera, although painted perhaps thirty years earlier than ours, is like an abbreviated version of it; and ours, as we shall see in a minute, is most likely due to a painter from Udine who on his way through to Venice could easily have studied Bellini's original, if it had been in Treviso.

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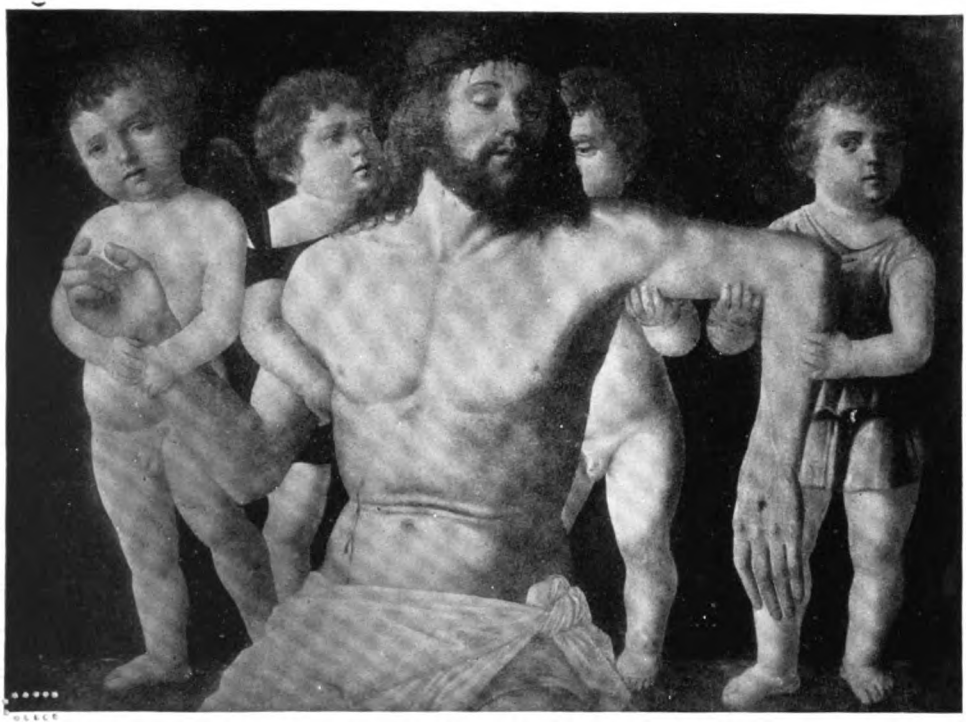

Fig. 94. GIOVANNI MARTINI DA UDINE (?): DEAD CHRIST.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Fig. 95. LATTANZIO DA RIMINI (?): MADONNA, SAINTS AND DONORS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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illness and death, Giovanni Martini must have drawn his inspiration from Cima, rising thereby to such respectable achievements as the Brera "St. Ursula," and Mr. Walters' more than respectable *"Pietà."* The rest of his works, at least in so far as known to me, are of no interest except for two or three portraits which would seem to be by him. The earliest of them (Bergamo, Photo. 241 of the Arti Grafiche, Bergamo) is the head of a youngish man with large sharp features and a look at once dreamy and determined. From a period some years later, comes the bust of a lymphatic square-headed man in the Padua Gallery. He holds in his left hand a letter upon which occur the forged monogram of Dürer and the date 1521. Finally, the portrait at Bassano (photo. Alinari 20501) of a coarse and bad tempered looking woman may be by him. She is seen behind a ledge upon which she holds in leash a dejected animal with the head of a man. Clearly this fish-wife in Sunday clothes saw herself as a Circe.

The picture that I would ascribe to Lattanzio da Rimini (Fig. 95) was at one time a charming one, but the restorer's hand has not dealt gently with it. In the foreground of a delightful landscape such as one may find near the foot-hills of the Venetian Alps, we see a sumptuous marble platform and tabernacle. In the tabernacle sits the Blessed Virgin who holds out a protecting hand over the donatrix, while the Child looks the other way and blesses the donor. To right and left are columnar figures of Jerome and the Baptist. Besides the pious inscription on the step we read

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the date 1507. The shield bears the arms of the Pisonni on our left and of the Basegio on our right. The initials are enigmatical. One might suppose they stood for C. and B. Pisonni, and not as in the picture.

I am acquainted with four works by Lattanzio da Rimini signed or attested by documents. They are the "Madonna with Jerome and the Baptist" of the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, founded on the Schlichting "Santa Conversazione" from Bellini's studio and probably painted toward 1495; his masterpiece, the polyptych at Piazza Brembana, ordered in 1500; the "Baptist with Peter and another Apostle" of 1505 at Mezzoldo near Bergamo; and a ruined Madonna of somewhat later date, recently acquired by the Venice Academy. A careful study of these four works permits me to venture upon attributing to him this one of Mr. Walters' as well, the more so, as its date, 1507, fits in after the Mezzoldo and Venice Academy pictures. Originally our painting must have been even superior in colour and execution to the one at Piazza Brembana. We should observe that although in the Mezzoldo panel Lattanzio boasts of being Bellini's pupil, here he owes much of the landscape as well as that division of interest between the Virgin and Child, to Cima, by whom this motive was introduced into Venetian painting. This is not surprising for we know that they worked together at the Gesuati, for which the great man painted his "Healing of Ananias" now at Berlin, and the little one in 1499 the "Preaching of St. Mark" which has disappeared. I suspect, however, that a pen drawing of the latter

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subject at Chatsworth (photo. Braun, 170, Burlington Mag. VI, opp. p. 74) may be the first sketch for Lattanzio's picture and give an idea of its composition. It is good enough as design for Rembrandt to have copied faithfully in a drawing now belonging to Mr. J. P. Morgan—faithfully but with how much more life![1]

III

BASAITI

In the remainder of this chapter we shall study the generation which, though contemporary in years with Giorgione, Titian and Palma, and tinged more or less with the colour of the New Age, still retained a predominantly Quattrocento style. The chief figures in this generation were Catena, Basaiti, Bartolommeo Veneto and Bissolo. The most gifted of them was Catena. In his maturity he attempted to paint with his own precise and dainty methods the world as revealed to Giorgione, and the result has its own peculiar charm.

The most faithful to the traditions that he found as a beginner was Basaiti. Only the costumes of his figures, and certain properties that could no longer be kept out of a studio betray his epoch. Bartolommeo Veneto, too, was a laggard, and like that Franco-Flemish artist whom German critics with that aptness and

[1] In Mr. D. F. Platt's collection at Englewood, N. J., there is a Madonna standing in the open air between a creased curtain of watered silk and the edge of a parapet, upon which she rests the Child who embraces her. I believe it to have been painted soon after 1510, and conceivably, rather than probably, by Lattanzio.

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felicity which are peculiarly theirs, have called the "Master of the Half Lengths," he has no interest except as a painter of heads. To these he gave a look, a pose, a dress which at times are no less than fascinating. Bissolo was nearly on a level with Basaiti, but now that we no longer commit the absurdity of crediting him with Bellini's great last achievement, the Vienna "Nude with a Mirror," he has become a decidedly less interesting figure; nor does he really concern us here as I am not aware that a work of his exists in our collections. On the other hand three or four other less important painters will claim our attention, not for any merit of their own, but because through them we may some day acquire a better understanding of their superiors.

To us, in our capacity as archæologists and historians, Basaiti is the most troublesome painter of this generation because his chronology is the most difficult to set straight. I fear I cannot arrange all his unquestionable works in a series wherein each finds its inevitable place. I venture to believe, nevertheless, that I can order them well enough to hazard the conclusion that his career as known to us began later than has been supposed; that he never could have acted as assistant to Giovanni Bellini, as has been believed; and that many paintings which, in consequence of this belief, have hitherto been ascribed to him cannot possibly be his. These last two points I cannot discuss here, as it would lead us too far from the present purpose, so I must simply state that there is no way of fitting into the artistic personality of Marco Basaiti works like the

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"Madonna in the Meadow" of the National Gallery. Mr. Robert Benson's *"Santa Conversazione,"* the Murano "Assumption of the Virgin," or the Berlin "Triptych with Lunette," all of which are products of Bellini's studio. Still less reason can be found for crediting Basaiti with Bellini's own unfinished creation, the Alnwick "Bacchanal," [1] which Titian did not disdain to complete. But Basaiti's chronology, owing to the number of his works in America, does concern us somewhat, and to that extent must be dealt with here.

His career is supposed to begin with the altarpiece of "St. Ambrose" for the Frari, which his master Alvise Vivarini had commenced but did not live to finish. It is doubtful, however, whether Basaiti put hand to this task before 1507 at earliest, and for the following reasons: in the first place, he would not have been called upon till after Alvise's death, and that took place toward the end of 1505. Then comes this important fact. The figures he completed comprise all except the Ambrose, the first three on this Saint's left and the first one on the right with the head only of the next figure, the Baptist, and all of these are so close in type, treatment, folds, forms, and handling to Basaiti's two famous masterpieces of 1510, the "Agony in the Garden" and the "Calling of the Children of Zebedee,"

[1] I alone was guilty of this act of folly, but in the others I had Calvacaselle with me. It is curious that I should have made just these mistakes, considering that when I made them I was unaware that others had anticipated me. Errors seem as endemic at certain moments as diseases, and are not the less foolish for having been entertained by the most studious. Every scholar and every man of science knows what glittering mistletoe-like parasites spring from the fairest branches of their studies.

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that it is inadmissible to assume that many years could have elapsed between them. Even a Basaiti does not remain stationary, and the utmost interval one may interpose between the last named works and his share of the Frari altarpiece would be about three years. For myself, I should abbreviate it to two or less.

It is probable, however, that some of the pictures known to us, as, for instance the Munich "Madonna with Sebastian, Jerome and Donor," as well as the Crespi "Madonna with Sebastian and Ursula," and the Venice Academy "St. James" and "St. Anthony Abbott," were painted a couple of years before Basaiti, as the best of Alvise's close followers, was asked to finish the Frari altarpiece. These various panels are the most timid, as well as the most Alvisesque of his works, and are almost certainly the earliest that have come down to us. Their date may be regarded as settled by the fact that the Sebastian in both the Crespi and Munich panels is in essentials almost identical with one in a small picture by Previtali in the Bergamo Gallery dated 1506. The Basaiti Sebastian, by the way, almost certainly betrays acquaintance with the one in Barbari's engraving of the beautiful knee-length ephebe, and the head of the Ursula in the Munich panel recalls the same enigmatic painter and engraver. But although the Munich, Crespi and kindred paintings are undoubtedly among his earliest, and of no later date than 1506, they show that their author was already a finished and independent master. The beginning of his career may therefore be put back a few years, as far back as 1500, let us say. We have no war-

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Fig. 96. MARCO BASAITI: PIETÀ
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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rant whatever for putting it still farther back, although Dr. Paoletti di Osvaldo would make Basaiti, who could scarcely have been born before 1480, the pupil of Antonello da Messina who died in 1479.[1] After the pictures just named, and before taking in hand the Frari altarpiece, Basaiti probably painted the earliest of his works in our possession, the *"Pietà,"* Fig. 96, which passed from the Paar Collection, where it was called a Cima, into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It has something simple almost to the point of rusticity in the feeling, types and action; but the grouping, on the contrary, is carefully thought out and impressive, and the landscape has the characteristic charm of Basaiti at all times. The disturbing element is the stiff horizontal leg of the Dead Saviour although its ugliness is somewhat masked by the heads of the three women bending over it. I can not help suspecting that this fault is due to what recent French writers in connections more perilous to our own times have called "Septentrionalism"—a snobbish admiration of everything Northern. That a Flemish picture with this motive was then being admired in Venice may be inferred from the occurrence of the same stiff leg not only twice again in Basaiti, namely in the somewhat later Munich "Deposition," and in a very late one in the Brera, but also in Mansueti's *"Pietà"* at Bergamo, and G. Santa Croce's at Capo d' Istria. Indeed, in the Brera picture, we find kneeling to the left, a woman wearing the puffy volu-

[1] The same writer we remember, is responsible for the exaltation of Lazzaro Sebastiani. His, too, is the invention of the Pseudo-Basaiti, who is not really an artistic personality at all, but a waste-basket into which to throw all the pictures wrongly ascribed to Basaiti.

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minous head-dress that we expect to find in Rogier de la Pasture or in the Maître de Flémalle. Basaiti is the less to be forgiven, as he seems to have been acquainted with a most beautifully composed and massed *"Pietà"* of not much before this time by Giovanni Bellini of which there remains a studio version in the Palazzo Donà delle Rose.

Assuming the Boston picture to have been painted toward 1506, we have to skip five years at least before we get to the next Basaiti in an American collection. It is the signed panel (Fig. 97), belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia, which, although already described and reproduced in the catalogue of his collection, is reproduced here again because it shows its author at his best. The outlines of the Virgin and Child are too edgy and their features still too pinched, while the landscape is too stringy, but the agreeable young nobleman who lets himself be portrayed as St. Liberale is not only attractive, as if lit up with a faint flush of Giorgione's glamour, but is modelled more largely and painted more freely than any previous work by the same hand. Basaiti got smoother, sleeker, or glassier later on, but never less mannered or more himself than in this panel dating from toward 1512. For students of Eastern art the binding of Liberale's book has interest, for it is covered with a Persian pattern, of which the most important feature is a falcon riding a swift and slender quadruped. It was no doubt copied from a piece of stuff fresh from the Orient where it had been woven not many decades previously.

Excepting portraits, the only other composition by

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Fig. 97. MARCO BASAITI: MADONNA WITH ST. LIBERALE.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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FIG. 98. MARCO BASAITI: ST. JEROME.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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Basaiti known to me in America is a late work representing "St. Jerome" (Fig. 98), in Mr. Henry Walters' Collection at Baltimore. How late I shall not attempt to conjecture, but as late perhaps as 1530 when, as we happen to know, its author was still alive. The almost naked old hermit sits on the ground peering over a huge folio. He looks, as people painted to look intellectual frequently do, as if he had a cerebral cramp. The action, the way the head is supported, the way the hand rests on the knee, the position of the legs, and the massing of the pink drapery as well as its folds, seem almost too good for Basaiti and betray acquaintance with some Giorgionesque original. Nor is it hard to say by whom this original may have been, for were my acquaintance with this picture confined to a photograph I might be tempted to ascribe it to Catena. Indeed, nearly everything here, hands, folds, and landscape, recall Catena in his last Giorgionesque phase, but more than any details, do the flat modelling, the relative avoidance of chiaro-scuro, and the simple breadth of the surface suggest this most engaging of the *retardataires*. It is interesting to note that when a backward creature like Basaiti woke up to the existence of the New Vision he could not see it directly through its creator, but only through compromises like Catena. Catena, by the way, seems to have been one of his guides from the beginning of his career. In his earliest effort known to me, the Crespi picture, the St. Ursula has a hand imitated from Catena.

The subject of St. Jerome seems to have been a favourite one at Venice, and Basaiti painted it fre-

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quently. Hitherto many students, myself included, have ascribed to him a little panel (Fig. 99), in Mr. R. H. Benson's Collection in London. If by him, it would not only be the best figure he ever painted, but also his earliest dated work, for it is inscribed 1505. The Roman numerals however are preceded by the name of Giovanni Bellini. As our notion of Basaiti's career depends to some extent on the attribution and dating of this panel, and as I may never get a better opportunity for discussing it, I trust I shall be pardoned for bringing it in here. If the inscription, which is certainly old, were to be taken as a signature rather than as a label, we should be hard put to it to account for the authorship of this attractive little painting. If we tried to ascribe it to Bellini, we should be confronted with the probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that the delicious reedy pool, the rocks, and the landscape were painted by Basaiti. If, on the other hand, we said, "Very well then, it is by Basaiti," we should be stopped by the almost equal certainty that he never could have designed the noble and wholly Bellinesque figure of the Saint. The facile explanation we used to give was that Basaiti executed this painting in the greater artist's studio, the latter designing the figure, furnishing the signature and letting it pass for his own, although Basaiti supplied everything else. Unfortunately for this view, Basaiti is not the least likely to have been able to paint these rocks, this landscape, these details in 1505. It was only some ten or fifteen years later, in, for instance, Count Papafava's "St. Jerome" that we find him in this phase, or in the "Madonna" copied from the

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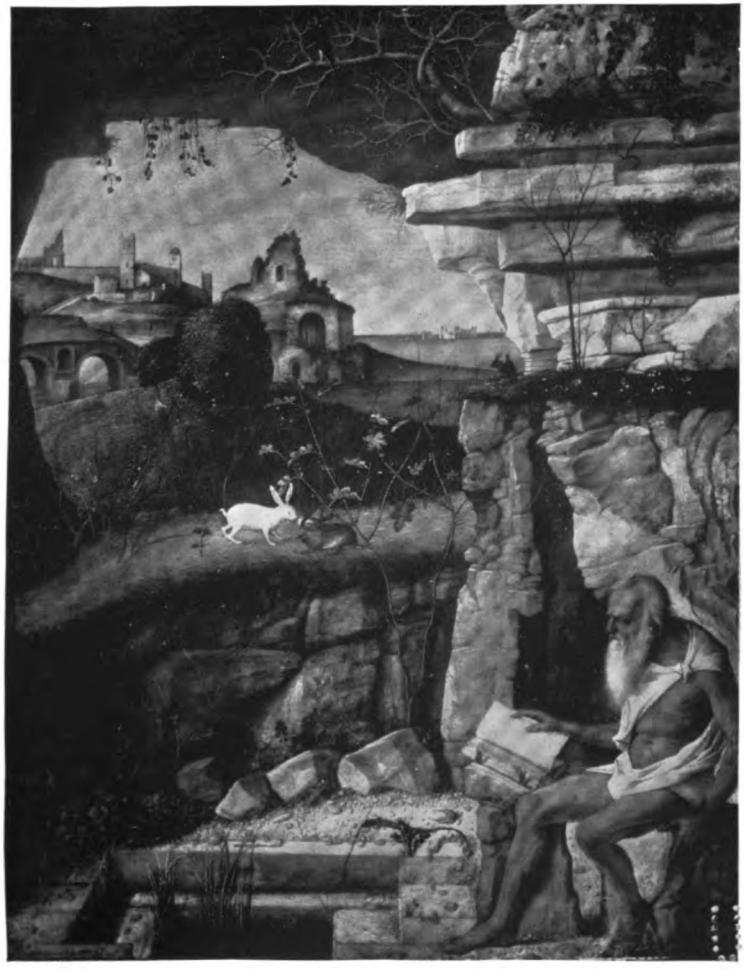

Fig. 99. GIOVANNI BELLINI AND MARCO BASAITI: ST. JEROME.
Collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London.

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Pourtalès-Morgan Bellinesque *"Santa Conversazione"* that used to belong to the late M. Schloss of Paris. We conclude, therefore, that Bellini must have left this small panel with only the figure designed by himself but executed by an assistant, and that then it was given to Basaiti to complete. As for the inscription, which, by the way, is cursive, as only in Bellini's quite latest studio pictures, it may be genuine after all, if we assume not impossibly that an X was omitted before the V. If not, we should have to declare it apocryphal. In any event, we can not be called upon to take this little panel as a proof that Basaiti assisted Bellini in 1505 or at any later time, and no other work that can be justly ascribed to him comes as near as this to giving such a proof. The idea of any such connection between the two artists can therefore be entertained no longer.

Basaiti must have been a fairly popular painter of portraits as we may infer from the number that have come down. They have qualities of presentation which are at least adequate for the impression they produce to-day—the impression of beings out of an age when this much fretted humanity of ours was having one of its too rare spring-times. Several are in our collections.

Portraits are even more difficult to attribute and date than other pictures, for more often than not they offer fewer clues to put the student on the road to the goal, and furnish rarer sign-posts to recall him when he is off the road. Frequently they are heads only, displaying no ears, and showing no hands, and we are at times left with a feeling of baffled effort or with a conviction

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of which we can not hope to furnish proof. Yet hard as it may be to discover the author of a portrait head, it is much harder still to say just when it was painted. Costume helps us only to fix the earliest possible date of a picture, but not the latest, for once introduced, it is far from easy to say when, within a decade, it ceased to be worn. Then the question of costume has been scarcely ever studied minutely enough for our purposes, and at present one has to work it out for oneself, and on information that is more than likely to be quite inadequate. We ought to know what fashions were current in each important centre; for Venice fashions, for instance, were different from those of Milan, and had relatively little in common with those of Florence. And in so far as fashions had a more general prevalence, we ought to know when they reached the different great towns. Work of this nature on costume would have to be pursued by highly trained students for years before they arrived at results that were entirely satisfactory. Even then, these conclusions would require delicate usage, like complicated and fragile tools. They could for instance scarcely be put into the hands of the writers of theses for a Ph.D. degree. Nevertheless, costume is the nearest approach to a time measure that most portrait heads afford. Of course I have in mind the work of artists who, like Basaiti, have no highly individualized, self-determining personalities. The problem changes altogether when we have to do with a Titian, a Velasquez or a Rembrandt.

With this warning, we may now approach Basaiti's heads in our various collections. Having studied them

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a great deal, I venture to think that there can be no doubt regarding the authorship of any except the first that we shall examine; nor that, while I cannot pretend to have determined their exact date, a reasonable attempt may not be made to determine the period of the painter's career to which each of them belongs.

The portrait about which I am in doubt belongs to Mr. J. G. Johnson, of Philadelphia (reproduced in the catalogue), and represents a Venetian gentleman of about thirty, wearing bushy, wig-like hair crowned by a soft hat that comes down over the forehead. He is seen behind a parapet against a light blue-grey sky over a brownish landscape of fields which stretch away on the right towards a town straggling within its walls on a hill, and on the left towards romantic crags and rocks. He looks out with calm, rather watery eyes, and an air of quiet self possession.

It is a typical Venetian presentation of the static qualities of a person and is so well placed on the panel, so harmonized with the background, so distinguished and so dignified that one is tempted to think it must be due to a greater man than Basaiti. During the many years that I regarded Alvise Vivarini as such a man I gliby accounted for this portrait as due to his direct inspiration. I no longer see much of Alvise here, but on the other hand, despite the forged signature, it does not seem closely Bellinesque either. And the execution, which is rather uncertain and feeble, precludes the attribution to Bellini. If we knew when it was painted we should be helped to a correct attribution but there is nothing in the costume or landscape that

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might not easily range between 1500 and 1510, or even more on either side. If one were sure that the date was much earlier than 1510, Basaiti would be excluded, for he was not painting at all like this before, say, 1507. On the other hand, there is something in the handling of this portrait that tends to confirm my old prejudice in favour of assigning it to Basaiti until a better attribution is proposed.

The three remaining portrait busts need not detain us long, for their authorship can scarcely be questioned and their date is not capable at present of being fixed with minute precision. The latest of them is one of a man in early middle life, proud, shy, provincially sensitive and suspicious. His huge hat cuts like a bat's wing against a large circular window which opens on a romantic sunset view. As it is reproduced in the catalogue of the collection to which it belongs, Mr. J. G. Johnson's of Philadelphia, the student can look it up there. Nor shall I reproduce the half length of a slightly melancholy but attractive youth belonging to Mr. Henry Walters for it will certainly appear in the illustrated catalogue of his collection that is being prepared. This youth with his wavy hair falling thickly down to the ermine lining of his mantle may have been painted as late as 1520. Somewhat earlier is the most imposing of Basaiti's portraits in America, one belonging to Mrs. Rutherford Stuyvesant of New York. As it is not in an all but public collection, and is not likely to get known otherwise, I reproduce it here (Fig. 100). As will be seen it is the head of a cheerful, pleasant-featured young man, but at the same time, of one born

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Fig. 100. MARCO BASAITI: MALE PORTRAIT.
Mrs. Rutherford Stuyvesant, New York.

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to command and ready to assert his will. Regarded as a mass seen against the gentle landscape and the sky, it is imposing and vitally stimulating; and as we look at it, we fall under the heroic illusion of man's superiority to nature. Our art of to-day is too apt to paint us when not as mere problems in technique, as bits of still life, and when it attempts to render personality it generally ends with turning us into vulgar or ludicrous actors of our own parts. We sigh for a time and a tradition when even a Basaiti, who probably had far less talent than many of our painters to-day, could create and hand down a personality like this.[1]

Another picture calling for mention here is a Madonna belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J. It is curious as a centrifugal composition, for the Child reaches out towards a book on a desk, and although it has a certain attractiveness, it is a feeble work. Its author may have been a follower of Basaiti's toward 1515.

IV

CATENA

The six works by Catena in our collections by no means adequately represent him, although each shows the artist in a different phase. The truth is that despite the fact that he never completely identified him-

[1] I had almost forgotten—Freud would say because I did not wish to remember it owing to its deplorable condition—a head that belonged to the late Dr. Reuling of Baltimore. It is of a smooth-faced youth with a quizzical look, pug nose, full lips, flowing hair, naked shoulders and fancy hat. It may have been a good thing when it left the painter's hand, at nearly the same time as the Budapest "St. Catherine."

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self with the new style, he was not a stationary person. On the contrary, his career was one of continuous change, and it is hard to find more than two or three paintings belonging to any one given phase of his art. One may suspect that the struggle between the old and the new would not let him settle down whole-heartedly, as Palma and Titian did, to enjoying and fostering Giorgione's innovations. It is also conceivable that, like trimmers in politics, Catena did more thinking than ultra-radicals or even ultra-conservatives. Indeed his work would seem to betray one of those rare and exquisite minds over whom the old and the new exercise the same fascination, and this doubtless drew to him the friendship and admiration of like-minded men, such as the humanists Bembo and Marcantonio Michiel.

If we must be content for the moment with an inadequate representation of Catena's evolution, we can yet, as art lovers, be satisfied with the quality of those of his pictures that we possess. But even as historical students we shall find their interest not inconsiderable, seeing that there is among them a painting distinctly earlier than any other so far known. It is a "Madonna with Four Saints" (Fig. 101), belonging to Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore.

Our Lady, heavily draped and turbaned, sits a little sideways behind a parapet, with the four Saints grouped around, two behind and two in front of the parapet. This arrangement instantly recalls the picture from Bellini's studio of the Schlichting Bequest in the Louvre. Both have two figures behind the Virgin and two in front of the parapet, and the Saints in both are probably

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Fig. 101. CATENA: MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

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identical. The Baptist is taken over with singular faithfulness to the silhouette. Other details hark back to still earlier influences as, for instance, the St. Peter, whose drapery is even more Byzantine than in the Bellinesque prototype. The Blessed Virgin's turban and pleated tunic recall a still earlier picture of Bellini's studio, the Doria "Madonna with the Baptist," and her action, the attitude of the Child and the motive of the Mother's hand resting on a book, suggest acquaintance with some such other Madonna of the same studio and the same period as the one a version of which we have already noted in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge.

But Bellini's is not the only influence traceable in this work. The pose of the warrior Saint does not recall him, and seems to have been inspired by the one in Cima's Dragan altarpiece. The heads, on the other hand, are so individualized and so free from any attempt at prettiness that one is inclined to regard them as likenesses, possibly the portraits of the family that ordered the painting. On any other ground it would be hard to account for the unmotivated earnestness of the soldier, the sauciness of the girl, the wooden intensity of Peter, and the self-enjoying eloquence of the Baptist. The dryness of the treatment, the precision and timidity of the drawing, the dulness of the colour, mannerisms like the tightly wound curls of the Child, and the tormented folds over the Madonna's knee are Catena's own, for which he seems indebted to no one. But Peter's right hand with its sausage-like fingers gives a clue to the painter's origin which is worth following up.

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It is obvious to any student of Catena's beginnings how much these were inspired by Bellini. And yet one could not in conscience regard the one as the pupil of the other. Catena's earliest works have a hardness, a thinness and sharpness, an effect at the best as of ivory rather than flesh and blood, which betrays habits formed anywhere rather than in Bellini's studio. I thought of connecting him with Alvise, and probably he was considerably influenced by that artist and possibly even by his closest and dullest follower, Jacopo di Valenza. But Peter's right hand is of a shape occurring frequently in Benedetto Diana, and leads me to suspect that this painter was the first of Catena's teachers to leave a mark upon him.

Mr. Walters' panel is the earliest of his works because manifestly the crudest, dryest, and most timid; and furthermore, because in any chronological series it fits in nowhere but in the beginning. Being his earliest, it is all the more interesting to know when it may have been painted, for that would enable us to get an idea about a point of considerable interest regarding which we hitherto have been in the dark, namely the date of its author's birth.

Our analysis of the picture has furnished materials for the purpose. As we remember, Catena here follows the scheme of the Schlichting Bellini, and that panel can scarcely have been designed before 1495. We remember, too, that the military Saint recalled the one in Cima's Dragan altarpiece, a work which may have been begun as early as 1496, although more probably not till 1498. We therefore cannot safely assume that

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Catena painted the Walters panel before 1499. That date is rendered plausible by the two works that come next in the chronological series. They are a portrait head of a girl which I understand Mme. Edouard Andrè left to Count Lanckoronski of Vienna, and the well known "Madonna with Two Saints and Two Donors" in the Mond Collection in London.[1] The girl wears the garland-like head-dress which occurs frequently in Venetian painting between 1490 and 1500, and with this identical arrangement in Gentile Bellini's "Miracle of the True Cross" of the last named year, but is perhaps never found after that date. The Mond panel, despite its marked advance over ours, is too close to it to have been done, considering it was painted by a youth and in a period of such rapid progress, more than two or at the utmost three years later. The Madonna in this panel however, is taken over from the "Santa Conversazione" of Bellini's studio now in Mr. J. P. Morgan's Library, a work which, as will be recalled, we discussed at length in Chapter IV, concluding that it must have been painted not later than 1501. In view of this date we may take it for granted that the Mond picture was not painted before 1502; and considered in relation to Catena's chronology as a whole, it is not likely to have been painted later. Assuming that three years elapsed between it and Mr. Walters', we get back again to 1499 as the probable date of the last named work. With all its faults, it is far from being a first effort. It implies years of training and activity, and unless Catena was

[1] Most of the paintings referred to in this section are reproduced in Venturi's Storia VII, part IV, 564–580.

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one of those miracles of precociousness as rare in the Renaissance as at all other times, he could scarcely have been less than eighteen or nineteen years old while painting it. His birth therefore may be put back to about 1480.

If I have laboured this point, it is not out of bad habit or to exercise my functions as a pedant (although without the aid of both I might have lacked the patience), but to establish the fact, seldom sufficiently considered when studying Catena and his fellow *retardataires,* that they were not older but if anything somewhat younger than Giorgione and Palma and Lotto and perhaps even Titian. If they lagged behind, it was due to temperament or to invincible ignorance, not because the New Light dawned after their day.

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After the Mond picture Catena passed through a phase characterized by a deliberate attempt at larger modelling and by a milky tone which comprises not only the skies and the draperies but the flesh parts as well. This phase is represented by the "Madonna with the Baptist and Jerome" acquired a few years ago by the Venice Academy; by the "Madonna with Francis, Catherine and a Donor" at Budapest; by the "Bust of a Youth" in the National Gallery; by a "Holy Family with a female Saint" at Budapest again, and finally by a "Madonna with a male and a female Saint" (Fig. 102), belonging to Mr. William Salomon of New York. It is probable that these works were painted

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Fig. 102. CATENA: MADONNA WITH A MALE AND A FEMALE SAINT.
Collection of Mr. William Salomon, New York.

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in the order in which I have just given them, and beyond reasonable doubt after the Mond panel and before the altarpiece with Doge Loredan as Donor in the Doge's Palace. This altarpiece is not dated but we are certain that it was not painted before 1505. The reason is decisive, because the design is manifestly only a variant upon an altarpiece from Bellini's studio formerly in the Ashburnham Collection and now belonging to Mr. Vernon Watney of Charlbury Park, Cornbury, Oxon., which is dated 1505. Nor is the panel of the Doge's Palace likely to have been painted much later because, among other reasons, it remains in many respects so singularly archaic, and because the age given Loredan demands a year as close as possible to 1505. And yet archaic as this altarpiece is, it points to a marked change in its author's scheme of colour. The brocade hung over the throne behind the Virgin shows, for the first time, signs of that soft but saturated and sumptuous colour which was to make Catena's works increasingly delightful. But of all this there is no trace as yet in the group of pictures leading up to and including Mr. Salomon's picture. It may be wise therefore to allow at least a year between it and the Loredan altarpiece, and to date it about 1505.

The entire pattern, including the attitude and action of the Madonna and Child, is taken over from such a design of Bellini's as the studio picture in the Doria Gallery already referred to, representing the "Madonna with the Baptist." In fact, the Virgin and Child are all but copies of the corresponding parts of that picture even to the draperies, while the female Saint in

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attitude follows closely upon the Baptist. On the other hand, taken together, these three figures have, as pattern and arrangement, a largeness, a fulness, a rhythm which are unmistakably of the New Era. Indeed, there is in this work a feeling for scale so advanced, so monumental that it makes one overlook the archaisms and timidities, although one enjoys them when reminded of them.

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As we have observed, the Loredan Altarpiece, painted no earlier than 1505, is the first of Catena's works to show signs of his later colouring. In the work I would place next, the Glasgow "Madonna with the Magdalen and another female Saint," this colouring flares up with some crudeness, only to subside into a singular purity and gem-like quality in such a painting as the "St. Jerome in a landscape" belonging to Mr. Grenville Winthrop of New York. I remember that on first seeing this small picture, the figure of the Saint reminded me so much of Benedetto Diana that for a moment I wondered whether the panel might not be his. The clear, soft colour, so entirely free from the muddiness of Diana, soon led me to the conclusion that it was Catena's, and the conclusion turned to conviction when I recalled that the figure and action of the Saint were the same as in the Venice Academy "Madonna with the Baptist and Jerome" already mentioned as the earliest of the last group. Only in Mr. Winthrop's

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Fig. 103. CATENA: BUST OF A VENETIAN.
Collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.

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everything is softened and relaxed as one may expect of a work executed several years later.[1]

Directly afterwards, toward 1508 perhaps, Catena may have designed the well known "Madonna with Zachariah, the infant Baptist and a female Saint" at Posen. The female Saint, by the way, repeats with slight variations the type we found at Budapest as well as in Mr. Salomon's panel, and leads up ultimately to the Judith of the Querini Stampalia Gallery, one of Catena's ripest and most Giorgionesque works. After the Posen picture, followed a phase represented by the Berlin "Santa Conversazione" and by the Petrograd "Madonna with the Baptist and Peter," in which the types still retain a touch of archaism, although the colouring lacks only fusion to be of Catena's most advanced style. That fusion, which helps to render Catena one of the most enchanting artists of his time, first appears in the Arcadian idyll representing a "Nativity" belonging to Lord Brownlow. The kneeling shepherd there is one of the most refined and attractive portraits in Venetian art, as indeed is also (although not to the same degree) the Baptist in the Petrograd picture just mentioned.[2] Soon after these, but perhaps as late as 1517, our author may have designed one of his grandest portraits, the "Bust of a Venetian" (Fig. 103), in the collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport, Rhode Island.

[1] If by Catena, as I am inclined to believe, it is at this point of his career that he must have painted a small bust of a man in an ermine lined mantle and open tunic seen against a landscape, acquired some years ago by the Venice Academy. (Photo. Alinari Pe. 2a No. 18324).

[2] If the younger man in the "Double Portrait" at Dublin is by Catena, as I suspect, that work must have been painted directly after Lord Brownlow's.

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It is the presentation of a vigorous personality, powerful both physically and morally, direct and energetic—as a nature and as a character. If Catena could portray in this fashion—and it is certain that he could—we understand better than ever why his contemporaries admired him, appreciating, no doubt, effects of design so bold and large obtained by means so simple and with the least possible abuse of chiaroscuro.

A problem is raised by the question as to the identity of the person represented. For many years I have taken it for granted that he was Andrea Gritti, and I still can not help thinking that it must be he. The difficulty is that in 1517, which is about the date I would assign to the portrait on internal evidence, Gritti, not yet Doge, was in his sixty-second year. We should scarcely give that age to the head before us. On the other hand we must bear in mind that Gritti lived to be eighty-four and may have been unusually well preserved. It is hard to believe, however, that he could have been as well preserved as this, and one of two conclusions follows. Either the portrait is not of Gritti, which I should find it disagreeable to admit, or it was done after a likeness representing him at an earlier age.

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After the Davis portrait, Catena may have painted, in the order in which I shall name them, the Carpi "Annunciation" the "Portrait of a Fugger" at Berlin, the Madrid "Christ giving the Keys to Peter," the National Gallery "St. Jerome," the Brera "Noli me Tangere,"

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Fig. 104. CATENA: CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO PETER.
Collection of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, Boston.

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FIG. 105. CATENA: CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO PETER.
Prado Museum, Madrid.

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the "Martyrdom of St. Christina" of S. Maria Mater Domini, and the Boston version of the Madrid picture. It would be superfluous to point out the many resemblances and connections between these pictures, or to justify placing them at this point. It is more interesting to dwell on the fact that tradition assigns the date of 1520 to the "Martyrdom of St. Christina," and that, as internal evidence rather bears out than contradicts it, we may safely accept it. As it is the penultimate work of this group, we may assume that the whole series was painted between 1517 and 1521.

Our interest just here centres about Mrs. J. L. Gardner's version of the "Christ giving the Keys to Peter" (Fig. 104). It is for the eye one of the suavest, most caressing, and most simple of works of art, and the mind is entertained by the idea of the courteous Saviour handing the Keys of Heaven to an elderly suppliant in the presence of three beautiful and fashionable young women. One of them, the loveliest, goes so far as to push the Saint forward. Very likely the pretext for their presence was allegorical. They may have stood for the Three Virtues. They are certainly portraits.

The reproduction of the two versions dispenses us from writing in great detail upon their resemblances and differences. Essentially the patterns are the same, but the Madrid one is much drier and lighter in drawing and modelling, and the colouring, which naturally the reproductions fail to reveal, is at once less sumptuous and less soft. There is even a certain advance of scale in the Boston version, which, however, may be largely

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due to its being taken out of doors and set against the sky. As will be remembered, I placed the Madrid version (Fig. 105) early in this group, and would date it soon after 1517, and the Boston variant at the end, toward 1521. I believe a careful examination of the two will show that three years may easily have elapsed between the drier and the suaver editions of this beautiful design.

It would be idle to speculate why the design was repeated at all, and if repeated, why at such an interval. The portraits of the three fair women no doubt account for it all, and these suggest a question that we may venture to put even if we cannot give it a decisive answer. That the lady in the middle anticipates to a singular degree Paris Bordone's type of woman is obvious, but there would be nothing extraordinary if the younger artist had discovered himself while contemplating this blonde, somewhat ox-eyed face. It would be more interesting to know the relation between this triad of pretty women and such a work as Palma's "Three Sisters." Ours dating from about 1517 is surely the earlier, but even thus it would be rash to assume—what, however, is possible enough—that Palma was indebted to Catena. Perhaps both had for model or inspiration some work by Giorgione now lost to us, to which Catena adhered faithfully, while Palma made it the starting point for a much more developed and elaborated arrangement.

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Only one other painting by Catena is known to me in American collections. It is a "Portrait of a Musician," dating from the artist's last years, which the student will find reproduced and discussed in the catalogue of Mr. J. G. Johnson's Collection. Having, however, already turned this section into a discourse upon Catena's chronology, I beg permission, in view of the fact that I may not find another opportunity, to continue. I shall be almost as brief as the Biblical tables of genealogy.

The last group is followed by one in which the master shows a further shedding of Quattrocento notions, and comprises pictures like Mr. J. P. Heseltine's "Holy Family"; its replica at Messina, without the Joseph but with the two other Saints; and two "Madonnas with the Infant John," the one in a landscape, the other in a Venetian *piazza,* the first belonging to Mr. R. H. Benson of London [1] and the second to Mr. E. P. Warren of Lewes, both by the hand conventionally supposed to be Marco Belli's, and both versions of lost originals by Catena. Next comes his masterpiece, the National Gallery "Warrior kneeling before the Madonna," which was soon followed by the Raphaelesque "Holy Family with Elizabeth" at Dresden, and perhaps by the "Portrait of a Canon" at Vienna. After these, if by Catena at all, would come the Louvre "Reception of an Ambassador at Cairo." I am, however, no longer as certain as I should like to be that it is by him, for it seems to me a little too feeble. It yet seems more probably his than Belliniano's, to whom Dr. von

[1] Of this there is more than one replica with slight variants the most accessible being in the Venice Academy (photo. Anderson 11572).

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Hadeln would ascribe it, or to any other painter known to me. Then would come the splendid "Judith" of the Querini-Stampalia Collection, Catena's most Giorgionesque work; and with this may be grouped two panels more obviously, but not more really, Giorgionesque. The first is the small "Adoration of the Magi" in the National Gallery, wherein the hand of Catena is revealed in everything, even, in the figures he manifestly has cribbed from Giorgione. The second is Mr. R. H. Benson's "Holy Family," a most exquisite thing.[1] Finally, follow Mr. J. G. Johnson's portrait, the Bergamo "Christ at Emmaus" (the attribution of which to Catena I can see no more reason for doubting now than I did more than twenty years ago when I first published it), and the "Christ at the Well" in the late Mr. Charles Butler's Collection. But in the last named work only the Christ and the Samaritan women are Catena's. The rest was laid in at least by Palma. Doubtless it was only after the latter's death, that is to say, after 1528, that Catena undertook to finish it, as Titian at the same time undertook to complete Palma's grand "Santa Conversazione" acquired some years ago by the Venice Academy.

V

BARTOLOMMEO VENETO

At the beginning of this chapter we spoke of Bartolommeo Veneto's career as a portrait painter as a parallel to that of the Franco-Flemish artist so exquisitely

[1] Lord Allendale's "Adoration of the Shepherds" is of quite another intention and by another artist.

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characterized by German art critics as the "Master of the Half Lengths." Bartolommeo, however, did paint several Madonnas, but rather perfunctorily, it would seem, since all of them excepting the one at Mr. R. H. Benson's which I identified more than twenty years ago, are copies or variants of the same type. Of this type Mr. J. G. Johnson has an example, which, however, is not by Bartolommeo.[1] It remains a problem why this type of Madonna, which, by the way, first occurs in the panel signed and dated 1502 by Bartolommeo Veneto, in the Donà delle Rose Palace at Venice, should have been so popular. Repeated by this painter more than once, by Bissolo, and by several anonymous little masters, it must go back to an original by an artist of great fame. Had I been sure that it went back to Giovanni Bellini, I should have discussed it under his studio works. But I am not at all sure that this design had such an origin. It is not impossible that it may be due to Gentile rather than to Giovanni Bellini. Reversed and better composed, it occurs a number of times more, best of all at S. Trovaso in Venice.

It is, however, as a painter of portrait heads, or what amounts to that, even when a wheel or some other label of apotheosis is attached, that Bartolommeo Veneto is of interest to us. If we may draw inferences from the dress and the character of his sitters, he must have worked chiefly in Lombardy, and to some degree under Lombard influence. Thus, his masterpiece, a work at once grave and distinguished in interpretation and both

[1] Reproduced and discussed in the catalogue, p. 365.

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serious and sumptuous in execution, the "Portrait of a Gentleman" in the former Crespi Collection, was on its first appearance, declared by the ablest connoisseurs to be Solario's. Such was their unanimity and decision that I was for a long time shamed out of my impression that it must be Bartolommeo's. What again can be more Milanese, more Leonardesque than that "Head of a Young Woman," for many years thought worthy of a place in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, in which Morelli rightly recognised the mind and the hand of this hitherto all but unknown painter? Now, thanks to the interest lent him by Morelli and his willing and unwilling followers, this artist has become so fashionable that we may soon expect to find him adorning the halls of the great beyond the Alleghenies. For the present we must be satisfied with the four or five in the usual beat of the art lover, the region between Boston and Washington.

It must have been before Bartolommeo's name got known and fashionable that the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport, acquired the "Portrait of a Young Man" (Fig. 106), which in his collection passed for Solario's. The face with its downy beard, framed in by soft, long hair and crowned with a jaunty cap, is attractive, and the costume is charming and romantic. The garden background, too, with its bouquets of trees is agreeable. All in all, a delightful picture. But the modelling is far too flat and edgy for Solario, and it has a certain touch of swagger, of affectation, of stylishness, combined with a certain something easy to feel but hard to define, which make one recognise it, as one

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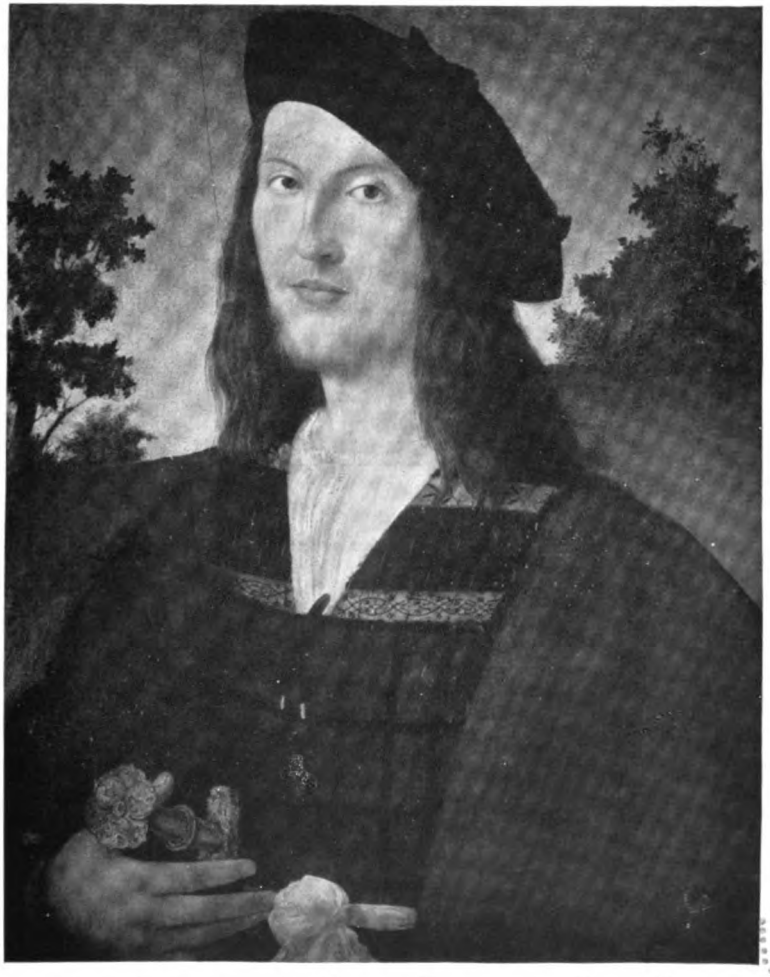

Fig. 105. BARTOLOMMEO VENETO: PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN.
Collection of the late Mr. Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.

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Fig. 107. BARTOLOMMEO VENETO: BUST OF A YOUTH.
Collection of Mr. James Parmelee, Washington, D. C.

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recognises an acquaintance, for a creation of Bartolommeo's. Undoubtedly it was done before Solario's influence had faded, and not too many years after the latter's death in 1514.

Bartolommeo was much given to painting fancy heads to which, by means simple enough, generally by the arrangement of the hair and the costume, or by some look, he gives, when the effect is successful, an air of fascination. The successes are rare, the best of them being the enchanting "Bust of a Courtesan" at Frankfort. The failures are more frequent, and two of them may be seen in Boston. One a "Saint Catherine" crowded with flowers, an ogling, simpering creature, a variant of a picture at Glasgow,[1] belongs to Mrs. W. Scott Fitz. The other belongs to Mrs. J. L. Gardner, and shows the same model but with an action and an arrangement that account better for the pose and expression.[2] Here she is seen behind a parapet upon which she rests the mandolin that she is playing, as well as the partition of music. Signed and dated 1520, it is probable that Bartolommeo, after painting this young woman as a portrait, made for her friends or for himself the version representing her, perhaps in accordance with her name, as St. Catherine.

Not long after this, and after the Holford head of the same year, Bartolommeo must have painted the somewhat somberly fascinating "Bust of a Youth" (Fig. 107), belonging to Mr. James Parmelee of Washington. He wears in his cap the medallion with a

[1] Reproduced in Venturi's Storia, VII, part IV, figure 442.

[2] A studio version in the collection of Contessa Cesare del Mayno of Milan is reproduced in *L'Arte* II, p. 456.

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device which then was so fashionable in Lombardy and in France. For colour, it is one of our artist's best achievements, and indeed, except in portraits like the Crespi one, Bartolommeo has seldom surpassed this strikingly alluring likeness.

Later he portrayed more serious, more sober people, although still of Lombard, even Milanese cast. Perhaps his final achievement in this phase is the "Bust of a middle-aged Woman" (Fig. 108), in the collection of Mr. Augustus Healy of Brooklyn. A small vase indicates that her name is Magdalena, but there is nothing else of that saint about her. She is a large-eyed, earnest Lombard lady of Luinesque type who may have been beautiful in her better days. For a work of Bartolommeo's there is unwonted modelling here, almost as solid as in the Crespi head, and the arrangement and the colour are not below his average.

VI

THE WIDENER HEAD. THE PAINTERS OF SANTA CROCE

As I have said before, there is in America to my knowledge, no work by Bissolo, one of the chief companions of Catena and Basaiti. Nor do I know what has become of the early work by Previtali that used to be in the Yerkes Collection. The few paintings that still demand attention before we complete this chapter are, with one exception, by craftsmen of small importance, to whom it were a sin to give the name of artist.

The exception referred to is a head (Fig. 109), in the Widener Collection. It is of a youth with high cheek

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Fig. 108. BARTOLOMMEO VENETO: BUST OF A MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN.
Collection of Mr. Augustus Healy, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Fig. 109. VENETIAN EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY: BUST OF A YOUTH.
Collection of Mr. Joseph Widener, Philadelphia.

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bones and pointed chin, with that intent look which characterizes some of the most arresting and impressive portraits of the first quarter of the XVIth Century. We are accustomed to connect this look with Giorgione, but there is no other sign of that magician's influence here. On the contrary, apart from the exquisite handling which is thoroughly Bellinesque, the lighting and the modelling rather betray the student of Antonello. Who this student was baffles my conjecture. The costume and much else tell that he worked between 1505 and 1510. The only other works by painters of as fine a quality and of the same moment whom we have not yet succeeded in identifying are the "Two Heads" in the Louvre ascribed to Gentile Bellini, the "Two Heads" by the same hand at Berlin (No. 12), and the "Head of a Man" by still the same hand at Gatshina. Ours is harder in modelling and more edgy, with a line more crumbling, and yet its author may have been inspired by them. I am tempted to believe that the Louvre Heads and their companions may have been painted by Giovanni Bellini at the time that he was completing the "Preaching of St. Mark" (which Gentile left unfinished) and assimilating his style as much as he could to his brother's. In that case, the Widener portrait would scarcely be earlier than 1508.

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It only remains to speak of several paintings that can be dismissed briefly. The most interesting is a "Double Portrait," a young man seen nearly full face and a

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young woman in profile signed by a certain Giovanni Paolo de Agostini. (Fig. 110.) There exists one other work signed by this pretty artist. It is a *"Pietà"* at S. Maria di Porto at Milan. He was probably a provincial Venetian who worked between 1510 and 1520.[1]

In Boston there is an elaborate and rather pretentious work dated 1513 and signed by Gaspar Negri, hitherto known only from Maniago (Belle Arti Friulane, 302–3) who cites documents that speak of him as a Venetian living at Udine in 1516 and 1538. It represents in the apse of a Venetian basilica the Blessed Virgin posed on a pedestal with the Dead Saviour in her lap and several Saints to right and left. It is a stiff stupid work but betrays acquaintance with Giorgione and perhaps Titian. For this reason it is worth having in mind, and besides it may enable us to identify other paintings by the same hand. The Scuole del Santo and del Carmine and other places in Padua contain rubbishy paintings in abundance worthy of Negri although scarcely by him.

A "Madonna with the Magdalen and Baptist," with the busts of a male and female donor, in the Jarves Collection at New Haven (No. 79), has, I suspect, affinities with Petrus de Inganatis. It has no kind of importance. Finally we must mention several works by the Santa Croces, a brood of painters from a Bergamesque mountain village, who were dull and prolific, almost never of value and seldom of interest except for what they cribbed from their betters. The first of them,

[1] Discussed in *Rassegna d'Arte*, April, 1916.

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Fig. 110. Giovanni Paolo de Agostini: Double Portrait.
Fine Art Museum, Detroit, Mich.

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Francesco, happened to be followed in his trade by another Francesco, and, but for documents telling us when the first died, and that the patronymic of the one was different from that of the other, we might, as they scarcely invited serious study, have gone on thinking they were the same artistic personality.

By the younger Francesco, Francesco Rizzo, we have in the Fogg Museum a tolerable "Madonna with the Child blessing the Infant John," a pleasant enough picture inspired, as his pictures were apt to be, by Mantegna's late "Epiphany" of which there is a good copy in Mr. J. G. Johnson's Collection. The Baptist, however, is Catenesque. In Mr. Walters' Collection there are two works, one representing the "Holy Family with the Infant Baptist and Zachariah," based on Mr. J. P. Morgan's Bellinesque *"Santa Conversazione"* with Catenesque additions, and the other a "Madonna between Catherine and Jerome" traced after Bellini's "Madonna with Paul and George" of the Venice Academy.

Girolamo Santa Croce is distressingly tedious, although he, too, like even the meanest artists of that golden time, has his almost agreeable moments. Happily he does not infest our collections. Two belonging to Mr. J. G. Johnson are studied in his catalogue, one of them having importance as a reflex of a Bellinesque work otherwise unknown. In the Jarves Collection there is a full length St. Peter, (No. 75), ascribed to Bellini, and no doubt imitated after some figure by that mighty artist, *sed quantum mutatus ab illo.*

THE END

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